

THE
STATE-ANATOMY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

CONTAINING
A Particular account of its several
INTERESTS and PARTIES, their
bent and genius; and what each of
them, with all the rest of EUROPE,
may hope or fear from the REIGN
and FAMILY of King GEORGE.

BEING *Parvula*
A MEMORIAL *K*

Sent by an intimate friend to a FOREIGN
MINISTER, lately nominated to come
for the Court of ENGLAND.

*Ut enim Gubernatori Cursus secundus, Medico Salus, Imperatori
Victoria; sic huic MODERATORI REIPUBLICAE beata
Civium vita proposita est: ut Opibus firma, Copijs locuples, Gloria
ampla, Virtute honesta sit; hujus enim operis, maximi inter ho-
mines atque optimi, illum esse EFFECTOREM volo. Cic.*

The FOURTH EDITION.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN PHILIPS; and Sold by J. BROTHERTON, and
P. MEADOWS, at the Black Bull in Cornhill, and J. ROBERTS
in Warwick-Lane. [Price One Shilling.]

THE STATUTE-BOOK OF ENGLAND



By Authority of the House of Commons
Printed by W. Woodcock, at the
Printers of the House of Commons,
in the Strand, near St. Dunstons Church.
1801.

A MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTION

OF
THE
STATUTES
AND
PRACTICES
OF
THE
COURTS
OF
COMMON
LAW
AND
EQUITY
IN
ENGLAND
FROM
THE
REIGN
OF
RICHARD
THE
FIRST
TO
THE
PRESENT
TIME
BY
JAMES
HARRISON
ESQ.
OF
THE
MIDDLE
TEMPLE
COUNSELLOR
AT
LAW
AND
OF
THE
COURT
OF
COMMONS
CLERK
OF
THE
PEACE
IN
THE
COUNTY
OF
MIDDLESEX
1801.

Printed by W. Woodcock, at the
Printers of the House of Commons,
in the Strand, near St. Dunstons Church.
1801.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

Printed by J. Johnson, and sold by J. H. Houghton, and
J. W. Mason, at the Strand, near St. Dunstons Church,
in the Strand, near St. Dunstons Church.
1801.



P R E F A C E.

 *HET are neither the remotest Foreigners, nor our nearer Neighbours beyond the seas, who alone are to seek for the meaning of our Party-words and Distinctions. The Natives even of our own Ilands are very often at a loss, or, which is of worse consequence, highly mistaken; as well in the nature and tendency of our several Parties, as in the names, civil or religious, by which they are commonly distinguish'd. Nor are they less frequently ignorant of our various Interests, with relation to our Adversaries or Allies, to our honour or reputation abroad: and many hearty friends to the Royal Family, are as great Strangers to its happy circumstances; as their worst enemies either are, or affect to be. A remedy in these cases became absolutely necessary. MONARCHY therefore and a COMMONWEALTH, WHIGS and TORIES, HIGH and LOW-CHURCHMEN, FORSWEARERS and NON-SWEARERS, TOLERATION, NATURALIZATION, the BALANCE OF EUROPE, the DANGER OF THE CHURCH, but (above all things) the Word CHURCH it self, with the whole train of those other heads mention'd in the TABLE, and many more there not mention'd,*

A 2

P R E F A C E.

tion'd, are so perspicuously, and, where it is necessary, so minutely deduc'd in the following MEMORIAL, that it was deem'd of publick service to have it printed. To this the Author has the more readily consented, that he's now on the spot to justify or explain whatever he has advanc'd; shou'd any Person sophistically cavil at his Expressions on the one hand, or on the other hand sincerely desire more light with regard to his Facts. He has imparted every thing to his Correspondent without favour or fear, without any gloss or reserve: and for his vouchers he's ready to produce, not the misrepresentations of Antagonists, but the books of all sides, containing the accounts they have given of themselves, tho the practices of some among 'em prove not seldom repugnant to their principles. He's so farr from presumeing to dictate to the King, those considerations he thinks self-evident to a person of less penetration and judgment than his Majesty, that he fears not being thought a false Prophet in affirming; that neither he himself, nor any of his Royal family, can hold these Realms securely, nor govern them peaceably, by any other Principles, than those by which he has acquir'd them: and therefore the only effectual way to bring the bulk of his Subjects to become insensibly of one mind as to him, is a steady, unshaken, resolute adherence to this rule; whereby the daily and unavoidable espousing of those Principles, by men of a different cast or education, will not be any longer reckon'd deserting a Party, but wisely embracing the Publick Interest. This is the only way left for the Tories to be even with the Whigs: for the merit or demerit of Party is gone, when once all Men profess the same Political Creed. Every Division, however, is not simply pernicious; since Parties in the State, are just of the like nature with Heresies in the Church: sometimes they make it bet-
ter,

P R E F A C E.

ter, and sometimes they make it worse; but, held within due Bounds, they always keep it from stagnation. As for several Persons occasionally commended by the Author, he cares not in the least how little they may like one another, provided they all agree to love King GEORGE: since he's fully convinc'd by the history of time past, and the experience of his own time, that Family piques are no more inconsistent with Union for the common good, than Personal failings are incompatible with Publick virtues. He's persuaded, on the contrary, that, without Emulation, a Government is depriv'd of many generous, great, and heroick deeds. Over and above all the reasons he has urg'd for not suffering any sort of Nonjurors to live in these Kingdoms, he has also the concurrent authority of the Oracle of our Law, Sir Edward COKE, who affirms in exprefs words, that never any King will endure, or not execute [*nota bene*] any such persons within his Dominions, as shall deny him to be Lawful King; or go about to withdraw his subjects from his Allegiance, or incite them to resist or rebell against him. Denying the King's Title, is here put upon the same foot with resisting his Authority: so that they who swear to King GEORGE, and yet teach or maintain opinions destructive of the Act of Succession, tho not to be banish'd like those who refuse him Allegiance (which is all that our author proposes) are yet as little to be trusted or employ'd, as the most declar'd enemies; for we are told by a greater authority than my Lord COKE, that he, who is not for us, is against us. Such as swear then, and mean only to be quiet under a King *de facto*, whose Title *de jure* they deny, do not think themselves oblig'd to defend a Right, which they believe he has not; and consequently they are not for him, but will be against him, whenever opportunity favours.

P R E F A C E.

favours. Away therefore with all such knavish Distinctions, come they from La Fleche or from Christ-Church. A Jurant of this stamp is worse, if possible, than any Nonjurant: they differ somewhat in circumstances, but the one is as much an Enemy as the other.

Jurat? crede minus: Non jurat? credere noli.
Jurat, non jurat, Hostis; ab Hoste cave.

But every thing is so clear and undisguiz'd in the MEMORIAL it self, that there is no need of any longer Preface.



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VIII. *Of the*



The INTRODUCTION.



O U do me but justice (My Lord) when you write in your last, that you believe I sha'nt be sorry to learn from your self, in what obliging terms your most august Master has acquainted his Cabinet Council with his intentions, to dispatch you to the *British* Court, as soon as you can be conveniently spar'd from the post you fill at present. I heartily thank your Lordship, not only for the best news you cou'd possibly send, but likewise for the confidence you are pleas'd to repose in me; since none of your other acquaintance has heard any thing of this nomination, which yet is sure to be most agreeable to them all. Nor have I less reason to congratulate my King and Country, that a person is coming to reside here, who has, on all occasions, so eminently shown himself to be in the interests of both. This however is but an additional proof, how faithful a servant you are to your own Prince, whose good or bad fortune appears to be inseparable from that of ours. These sentiments, I dare say, are reciprocal. Your desire of being inform'd before hand, with the exactness you

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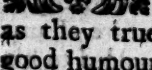
particularize

particularize in your Letter, about many things in our present situation and circumstances, is a certain sign no less of your great ability, than long experience in affairs of this nature: but I am afraid your inclination may have gain'd too much upon your judgment, when you thought fit to pitch upon me for your correspondent in this place, where you have so many acquaintance far superior in every respect, as well as nearer the source than comes to my share, or is at all my wish. Yet since our friendship, no more than the honour you do me, will not admit of any excuse, I present my service as frankly as you can desire it; and, to demonstrate the sincerity of the offer, I shall add several heads (some longer, some shorter, as the subject may require) to those you have so judiciously specify'd: that, as near as may be, within the compass of the few sheets my *Memorial* takes up, you may at one view have the *real State of Great Britain* laid before you, with regard to all its Parties and Interests foreign or domestick. Between Courts united by alliance and interest, this kind of intercourse is so far from being blameable, that it is not barely allow'd, but often industriously promoted: but where a Peace and no Alliance is concluded, or rather, where Interests are naturally repugnant, there I hold such a correspondence, if not strictly criminal, yet to be highly indiscreet, and by all means to be discourag'd. The *Arcana Imperii*, or Reasons of State peculiar to any country, come under another consideration; and ought no more to be reveal'd to friends than to foes, that is to say, if they can be conceal'd. But the commerce of Letters between your Lordship and me, being upon quite another foot, I shall now proceed according to the method you have chalk'd out your self, and therefore will speak in the first place,



I.

*Of the KING and the ROYAL
FAMILY, with their FRIENDS
and ALLIES.*

UCH of the avow'd enemies of King
GEORGE's Title, as have any remains of
sense or honour, make no objections a-
 gainst his person. They are charm'd with
 his very looks and countenance, which,
 as they truly observe, give the highest indications of
 good humour and the sweetest temper; join'd to a pe-
 netrating genius, and judicious steddiness of Mind.
 What they have been so often told, before his happy
 accession to the Throne, of his Wisdom, Tem-
 perance, Frugality, Justice, Affability, and Appli-
 cation to business, with his other private and publick
 virtues innumerable, appears by his daily conduct, not
 to have been the effects of flattery, but of exact
 and well-weigh'd observation. They who envy such
 excellent qualities, yet cannot forbear admiring them.
 Among the rest, never was there a better judge of
 Men, which is not the least necessary qualification in a
 King; and which is not a little conspicuous in ours, by
 his endearing familiarities with his subjects. Mild and
 gracious as goodness it self. Yet his clemency
 and forbearance are not greater on the one hand, than
 are his courage and resolution on the other hand,
 whenever occasion makes it proper. So strict an ob-

server of his word, and so much addicted to doing good, that he was even by nature form'd to govern by Law: the whole tenor of his life making visible the sincerity of his Declaration, *That the Establish'd Constitution in Church and State shall be the rule of his Government; and that the Happiness, Ease, and Prosperity of his people, shall be the chief care of his life.* Nor was he less form'd by nature, than destin'd by providence, to be the King of *Great Britain and Ireland* in particular, the King of a free-born Protestant people; his maxims of Government being exactly answerable to his own title, and their inclinations: not grounded on *arbitrary Prerogative*, and a *chimerical Jure Divino*; but on the **LEGAL CONSTITUTION** and the **PROTESTANT RELIGION**. These are the two primary reasons of the *Act of Succession*, these are the two unshaken pillars that support his Throne, and these are the two main objects of his care: for by what principle a Dominion is acquir'd, by the same is it best preserv'd and continu'd. How stupid therefore, how groveling, how slavish, how unworthy of this blessing are they, who hanker after a creature of uncertain and contested birth; bred up, and molded to his own purposes, by the natural enemy of these Islands? An impostor, I say, who is not less by principle averse to the Protestant religion, under what denomination soever, than he is to our own ancient, legal, parliamentary Constitution; from which as he disclaims any Title, and consequently has no Title at all, so his pretended ancestors, of the *Scotish* race, have ever labour'd to subvert it. This is an undeniable truth, however it may be relish'd by some, who will not fail to insinuate (if they see this *Memorial*) that I reflect on the King's progenitors. But let such persons know, that the King respects virtue alone in all families. *James I.*, who was the tamest of the *Stuarts* (that we may not rip up the too manifest encroachments of the rest on Liberty) made the Prerogative become nauseous to his people, by his frequent appeals to it: whereas Prerogative is but the Prince's discretionary power to act for

for the publick good, and not for his own good exclusive of it, where the Law has not determin'd what he is to do. Besides, that every one of the *Stuarts* (my Lord) either favour'd, or profess'd, or promoted Popery, the late incomparable Queen *Mary* excepted. There was a correspondence carry'd on between *James I.* and the Court of *Rome*, and dignities conferr'd at his Recommendation. Under *Charles* the Martyr himself there was a Reconciliation attempted, not without his privacy, between the Churches of *England* and *Rome*. This is not only evident from *Rusworth's Collections*, and the *Important Discourse* * subjoin'd to the translation of Father *Cerri's* book, which I have bought for your Lordship; but likewise from other authentick documents, which I am ready to produce whenever you command me. *Charles II.* dy'd, as *James II.* liv'd, a profess'd Papist: and I shall have more occasion in this *Memorial* than I wish, to enforce the same charge in the last Reign. But now (heaven be duly prais'd) we have the throne fill'd with a Monarch, and surrounded with a Royal progeny, not one of which is in the least tainted with Popery, either by education, interest, or inclination: and a throne too; that is the most solidly establish'd and supported of any in the world; so impotent, vain, and ridiculous, are all the projects, all the attempts that are, or can be form'd against it. Such a perfect harmony between the three Estates, or the King, Lords, and Commons, cannot be exemplify'd in history. The Army, the Fleet, and the Militia, are in the most proper, as well as in the most trusty hands. All the mony'd men, or those concern'd in our Stocks and Funds, have no other security for their estates but the present settlement. The body of the landed men, and the bench of Bishops (the exceptions to both being of no weight, either for parts or interest) look upon the preservation of Property and Protestantcy, to remain solely under God, in the *Act of*

* I have a Translation of this Discourse from the Original *Italian*, printed in the Year 1643.

Succession. I may venture to assure your Lordship, that all the sects of the Protestant Dissenters are no less faithful to King GEORGE, than those of his own family, for which I shall give you the particular reasons under another head: as I shall likewise give you the reasons, why the bulk of the King's enemies consists of inferior Clergy and inferior People, or a mob of Priests and Peasants. Thus it stands at home. Abroad the King is a very Powerful Prince himself, both in respect of his ancient as well as of his new acquir'd Dominions, which are join'd to *Britain* by the ocean: and we may well think that he will no more be wanting, on occasion, to maintain his own interest, than that of his Allies and of all *Europe*. The interest of the *Dutch* in-particular, is absolutely inseparable from his; they being as much concern'd to preserve our Liberty as their own, their Barrier being likewise ours, and our Power being their Protection: besides that we having now a thorough protestant Royal race, all jealousies between the two States, on account of Religion, are for ever remov'd. The world is wide enough to supply us both with Trade, and the moderation and prudence, join'd to the mutual good understanding of the Sovereigns on either side, will leave no room for any rivalry among their people, excepting that of Industry alone, which is ever to be encourag'd by both. Your Lordship has lately seen an instance of the importance of the alliance between us and the States, in the six thousand Men that were sent over in pursuance of the *Barrier-Treaty*. The King of *Denmark*, and all the Protestant States of the Empire, are King GEORGE's friends by principle and treaty. So are the Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland*, so are the *Grisons*. I need not mention that the King of *Prussia* is his own Nephew and Son-in-Law. The Emperor is so well appriz'd, how much it is his concern, that a Prince neither devoted nor oblig'd to *France* may wear the *British* Crown; that, as I often said here and elsewhere, he wou'd as soon renounce the Empire, or part with his hereditary Dominions to the house of *Bourbon*, as help

to

to impose the Pretender upon us instead of King GEORGE: the last being also his near relation, a *German* Prince, and an Elector; whereas he owes a severe revenge to the adherents and abettors of the first. But since the happy proofs of the Empresses fecundity, and the reasonable prospect of many Children, the engagements between our King and the Emperor are become still more strict and reciprocal. The same is as true of the King of *Portugal*: and, in a word, of all those of what country or religion soever, that would preserve their Dominions and Independency entire, against the late encroachments of *France*, or of any other projectors of universal Monarchy. That admirable man the mighty Emperor of *Russia*, who may be reckon'd among the most illustrious Legislators; and who has in a manner new created his own People, passionately courts the amity of our King, whom he reckons so wise a Prince, as to wish himself one of his privy Counsellors; that he might in that station learn the art of Government, as he has those of War, Navigation, and Commerce, under competent masters here and in other countries, in imitation of the ancient Heroes. O great and glorious *Czar*! when shall I utter praises con-dign to thy exalted Merit? But these Alliances are matters farr above the reach of our domestick incendiaries, our frantick mutineers; who imagine that the rest of the World are as shallow Politicians as themselves, or have as little regard for Religion, Country, Liberty, or Commerce. They are in so desperate a condition, without perceiving it all this time, that their cause has now no friend on earth but the *Pope* and the *Turk*, the first of which is the natural enemy of *Britain*, now standing alone too; while the natural Allies of it, so potent and so numerous, are all the personal friends of King GEORGE. Neither do the thoughtless creatures any better comprehend, that the King has still in reserve, a surer fence than most of these now mention'd put together: I mean his numerous Royal family, which effectually frustrates the ends of all attempts against his sacred person; as any such attempt would bring certain destruction on the undertakers, their accomplices, abettors,

tors, and favorers. The gallant Prince of *Wales* has one son (the hopefullest young prince in the world) and three daughters, with the prospect of many more children of both sexes. The Queen of *Prussia*, his Majesties excellent daughter, is a fruitful mother; and the King of *Prussia* himself is no less in the entail of our Crown, he being King *GEORGE*'s sister's son. The King has likewise two Brothers, the Dukes *Maximilian* and *Ernest*, both unmarried; and the last of 'em Bishop of *Osnabrug*, a sovereign Prince, whose territories join those of *Hanover*. So that (My Lord) if you consider the character and demeanor of our King, no nation on earth is more happy than ours; if you consider his subjects and allies, no King's person was ever more beloved, no King's title was ever better supported; or if you consider the flourishing Royal family, no game was ever more ridiculous and desperate, than that of his and our enemies, than that of the present Pretender, or any other who may be so foolish as to pretend after him.



II.

Of MONARCHY and a COMMONWEALTH, of LAWS and LIBERTY.



UT you tell me (My Lord) that besides the *Jacobites*, or adherents of the Pretender, you are inform'd there is a strong party of *Republicans*, or Commonwealth's-men, in *England*; which makes you in pain for the repose, if not for the safety of the King; and I answer that there is no such party at all, nor, as I verily

verily believe, one single Commonwealth's-man in the sense you understand them; that is, men who are either for an Aristocracy or a Democracy, or, if you'll have it worded otherwise, for the sovereignty of a Parliament and Privy-Council, exclusive of all Regal Government whether limited or unlimited, conditional or absolute. Kingship, on the contrary, is essential to our Constitution, and is the very first of our three Estates: for the Clergy, as in some other countries, is not an Estate with us, the Bishops sitting as Barons in the house of Lords, and the inferior Clergy voting for representatives to the house of Commons, as neither the one nor the other do tax themselves. Such a Constitution as this of ours, is reckon'd the best of all others by the most judicious of the ancients, as *Aristotle*, *Polybius*, and *Cicero*. *I judge that Government to be the best-constituted* (says this * last) *which consists in a proportionable mixture of those three kinds, the Monarchical, Aristocratical, and Democratical: which Government must neither by severity irritate fierce and unruly Minds; nor yet, in passing over every thing, make the subjects worse by encouraging Licentiousness.* This is the very Picture of our present State. But then as Kingship is either hereditary or elective, so ours is the happy medium between an absolutely hereditary, and an absolutely elective Monarchy; the very essence of our Constitution being as follows; 'To prevent the incertitude, competition, bribery, and confusion of frequent Elections (as in *Poland*) the Crown is entail'd upon a particular Family according to the right of Primogeniture, the female succeeding in default of male Issue: but to prevent likewise our remedi-

* Statuo esse optimè constitutam Rempublicam, quæ ex tribus generibus illis, Regali, Optimo, & Populari, confusa mōdicè, nec puniendo irriter animum inmanem ac ferum; nec, omnia prætermittendo, licentiâ cives deteriores reddat. *De Republ. l. 2. apud Nonium in voce Modicum,*

less falling (as in *France*) under the management of
 Idiots, Madmen, Tyrants, or other Persons incapable
 of rule, the Crown is so limited under certain laws or
 conditions, relating to Religion and Liberty, as in ca-
 ses of extreme necessity to be transferable to the near-
 est in blood duly capacitated, or otherwise to the most
 capable and worthy of the same Family. This, My
 Lord (as appears by the constant tenor of our laws,
 and the common practice of our people) has ever
 been our real Constitution, as well *de jure* as *de fa-*
cto; there being several Statutes, which make it treason
 to assert, that the King or Queen, and both houses of
 Parliament, cannot limit or alter the Succession, and so
 dispose of it as they shall see most conducing to the pub-
 lick good, which is the supreme law and final design
 of all Government. They impose therefore, if not
 on themselves, yet on the ignorant part of mankind,
 who give out, that the two last entails of the Crown
 were not according to the ancient Constitution of these
 realms: besides that no reasons can be assign'd why
 the Legislature, in this or the last age, might not,
 as well as six or seven ages ago, make new laws, li-
 mitations, and precedents; which will be the an-
 cient Constitution (if there be any charm in this ex-
 pression) to our posterity, six or seven ages hence. In
 effect, to enact a law for posterity, is no more, than re-
 commending a thing to their choice; since if they think
 there's reason for it, they can no more be devested of the
 power to repeal any law enacted by their ancestors, than
 we are of repealing such laws as have been enacted by ours.
 As for the word *Commonwealth* (which is the com-
 mon-weal or good) whenever we use it about our own
 Government, we take it only in this sense: just as the
 word *Respublica* in *Latin*, is a general word for all free
 Governments; of which we believe ours to be the best.
 This is the sense in which King *James I.* call'd himself,
the great servant of the Commonwealth; and in which
 Sir *Thomas Smith*, Secretary of State to more than one of
 our Princes, entitles his account of the *English* Govern-
 ment,

ment; *the Commonwealth of England*. Now with us there is no medium in the case: for whoever is not for this form of Government, is for absolute hereditary Monarchy, and consequently for unlimited arbitrary Power in the Monarch; for if the Monarch can be limited in any thing, he may as well be limited in the Succession, and so with regard to Religion, Property, and the like. As an absolutely hereditary descent provides no remedy against the Madness or Idiotism, the Incapacity or Tyranny of the Prince; so it leaves no room for distinguishing Wisdom, Valor, Justice, or Moderation, from their contrary vices: whereas, to set all other considerations aside, it is certainly more for the honour of King *GEORGE* (for example) that he was recommended to the Election of a free people for his numberless virtues, *by King *WILLIAM*, who was so excellent a Judge of men; than if the Crown had descended to him by a * *HEREDITARY SUCCESSION* of a thousand Years, which might as well befall a monster or a fool. The Doctrine of indefeasible Right was set up at first by a few aspiring Clergymen, to ingratiate themselves with weak Princes, who had designs inconsistent with the laws: and therefore those Court-parasites represented to the said Princes all true lovers of the Constitution as enemies to their power, and as Republicans, or Commonwealths-men, by which they meant men of levelling and Democratical Principles. 'Tis observable, however, that the Princes who eagerly hearken'd to this Doctrine, have been all miserable sufferers for the same: so little have the Clergy been able by their influence, or by their boasted impressions of any kind, to support them in their wicked projects; for it must be to bring about some wicked end, that arbitrary

* Siquidem ipsum Imperium hoc fore pulchrius judicabas si id, non HÆREDITARIUM EX SUCCESSIONE, cepisses; sed, VIRTUTIBUS TUIS DEBITUM, à summo Imperatore meruisses; *Panegyricus Maximiano & Constantino dictus.*

power is ever preach'd or desir'd. Whereas those of our Princes that have govern'd according to law, and manifested by their actions that they had no Interests separate from those of their people, have made the gloriouslest figure of any Monarchs in *Europe*; witness Queen ELIZABETH, and King WILLIAM. Such have not only the purses but even the lives of the subjects at their devotion; as appearing to have no interest at home separate from theirs, nor abroad but what redounds to their glory and security. Our Kings, in effect, have all the power of doing good that can be desir'd, being only restrain'd in certain things from hurting themselves or their subjects. They have the entire Executive power, and one third part of the Legislative in their assenting and negative Voice. The disposal of the ordinary Militia is in them, and they are the *Generalissimos* of our standing Armies. Their Revenues are more certain than those of any Prince in *Europe*, nor is their Pomp and Grandeur inferior to any, but superior to most. They are the fountains of Honor, send and receive all Embassies, having the sole right of coining Money, and pardoning Offenders, those impeach'd by the house of Commons excepted. They name to all the great Dignities and Offices, spiritual and temporal, with a world of other Privileges and Prerogatives, as considerable in their nature, as they are tedious to enumerate. Our envy'd Liberty then, you see, is not Anarchy nor Licentiousness, but a Government of Laws enacted for the common good of all the people, by their own consent and approbation, as they are represented in Parliament. For nothing is more consistent than Law and Liberty; nay, there cannot be any political Liberty without Law: for, not to forget those ancient sages with whom you are so assiduously conversant; *As our Bodies* (says one * of them) *cannot be manag'd with-*

* Ut Corpora sine Mente, sic Civitas sine Lege, suis partibus, ut Nervis, ac Sanguine, & Membris, uti non potest. Legum ministri Magistratus, Legum interpretes Judices; Legum denique idcirco omnes Servi sumus, ut Liberi esse possimus. *Cic. in Orat. pro Aulo Cluentio, cap. 53.*

put a Mind, so a Government cannot without a Law rule its several Parts, analogous to nerves, blood, and other members. The Magistrates are the Ministers, the Judges are the Interpreters of the Law; and we are therefore all of us subject to the Laws, that we may thus continue free. The only thing wanting (and in many points it is wanting to the highest degree) is a strict execution of the many excellent laws that we have. Nor do I question but King GEORGE (who is sent by heaven to reform as well as to preserve our State) will oblige all men carefully to do their duties in their several stations; encouraging and rewarding those who will neither connive at vice, nor be threaten'd or corrupted from executing the laws, to the promoting of peace and virtue among all degrees of people. On the other hand, such as are remiss in performing what their offices require, men that are rather scandalously propagating vice in others by their own example, than restraining disorders by legal severities: such as these, I say, the King will as surely discountenance and discard, as he'll show his displeasure against those who at first recommended, or would afterwards protect them. I hope by this time, My Lord, that you are wholly at ease in relation to any imaginary Republican faction, which might disturb the King's gracious Government; that you are convinc'd our Liberty consists in laws of our own making, and that our Monarchy is the best form of a Commonwealth.

III. OF WHIGS



III.

Of WHIGS and TORIES, with such
other STATE-DISTINCTIONS.


 OUR Lordship may now comprehend with the greatest ease, what you say has puzzl'd you so long, viz. the distinction of Whig and Tory: for the Whigs declare for settled Laws, against arbitrary Will, maintain'd by the Tories; and for the limited, conditional, legally-hereditary Monarchy, I have been now describing, against a Monarchy indefeasibly-hereditary, unlimited, and absolute, claim'd by the same Tories. Or, to be shorter, the Whigs are asserters of Liberty, and the Tories abettors of Tyranny. The words themselves are but late nicknames, given by each party to the other in King Charles II's reign; *Tories* in *Ireland*, and *Whigs* in *Scotland*, being what we in *England* call highwaymen, or you publick robbers: the Whigs thus insinuating that the Tories were for Popery and Despotick Power; and the Tories, that the Whigs were for Presbytery and a Commonwealth. You perceive therefore, that the Whigs are no Democrattick Commonwealthsmen, but zealous supporters of the ancient Constitution under King, Lords, and Commons; and tho they are avowedly for resisting of Tyrants by arms on behalf of the laws, they are also as ready to expose their lives and fortunes in defence of the honour and persons of good Princes, no less than for the preservation of the Monarchy it self. Nor must it be forgot, that all Princes ought to esteem 'em for the sincerity with which they profess their principles, and they suit their practice accordingly; so that no Prince can pretend to be deceiv'd by them, when ever they appear on

the behalf of Liberty and Property against their invasions on either. Whereas the Friendship of the Tories has been ever fatal to every Prince that has espous'd them, not only because the Constitution has prov'd too hard for all their attempts, but because those very Princes are generally both deceiv'd and betray'd by them: for they never practice their profest doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, but fly out upon the least provocation, shamelessly alledging, that *Nature will rebel against Principle*; and upon every pinch are ready to leave their patrons and benefactors in the lurch, pretending that they never imagin'd the Prince would push things so farr, or literally understand what they only intended as a restraint upon exorbitant Passions. You may conclude (My Lord) that so unnatural a Scheme as theirs has given birth to a world of chimeras and inconsistencies: such as the Divine right of Monarchical Government, the Patriarchal descent of the Monarch himself, a power to retain the Crown in Trust for him that has right, to make it over by Cession to one who has no right, to dispose of it by Will, or any way but the right way, viz. by Act of Parliament. Add to these a loud clamor sometimes for the laws, and yet the Prince uncontrollable, hereditary Right and the house of *Hanover*, with numberless such, for there's no end of absurdities from a wrong principle. A material difference between the Tories and the Whigs, is the latter's being civil and friendly to Foreigners, whom they love, cherish, and esteem, for the reasons you'll see under a head on this very subject: whereas the former are their declar'd enemies, treating all nations (unless you except the *French* Papists) with the utmost inhumanity, scurrility, and contempt. This makes all Foreigners, excepting the same *French*, against them in their turn; which their late advocate, the Author of the *English Advice to the Freeholders of England*, frankly acknowledges. *I scarce ever knew a Foreigner settl'd in England (says he) whether of Dutch, German, French, Italian, or Turkish growth, but became a Whig in a little time after his mixing with us.* An argument (adds he ironically) that

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all the World know our Constitution better than we. I seriously answer, that most certainly they do so; and such as do not, yet after a little stay among us, as he well observes himself, become Whigs of course, by growing better acquainted with the true Constitution. And for God's sake (My Lord) how can it possibly happen otherwise? but that all men endow'd with common sense, must needs prefer the party who are for Naturalization, Liberty of Conscience, Law, and Property, to those who are inveterate haters of Strangers, Persecutors in point of Religion, exalters of the Prerogative above the Law, and leaving all Property at the discretion of the Prince's arbitrary Power. The mentioning of *French Papists* puts me in mind of a very concise, but most true account given of the Whigs and Tories by the Abbot *Gautier*, who being ask'd by the late *French King* wherein the difference really consisted; he answer'd, that, setting aside the subtil distinctions of Politicians, what imported his Majesty most to know was, that the Tories were the only friends he had in *England*, while the Whigs were all his Enemies: and with this circumstance, added he, that tis possible the Tories may become your Enemies, but impossible the Whigs shou'd ever be your friends. But the absurdities of the faction must not put out of our remembrance one of their artifices, which is to persuade the populace, that Whig and Tory is a religious distinction, when it is purely civil; the body of the Church of *England* being the real Whiggish party, and the Dissenters from it not being reckon'd Whigs by any means on account of their dissent, but because they join with the others for civil Liberty and the Protestant Succession. Yet the poor deluded people are often made to believe such an abominable falshood, by those whom they hire dear enough to tell 'em the truth: that the Whigs (forsooth) are for pulling down the Church, that is, pulling down themselves. But this stratagem has been too often practis'd to prove of any use to the Tories for the future, seeing it serves but to unite the Whigs the stronger, and to beget a firmer friendship between the Low-Churchmen and Dissenters, which must never grow lukewarm, or they are both ruin'd.

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It would be an endless task indeed to recount all the inconsistencies of the most thoughtless, temerarious, hot-headed, and brutal generation of men conceivable: men that wou'd at any time give up the Constitution, provided they could get Places or keep them; men that took Oaths to let in the Pretender, and that took Places to keep out King GEORGE; men that pretend themselves the onely Churchmen, and yet sacrifice the Protestant Interest every where; men, in a word, who blow hot and cold with the same breath; and who, as they were against the Succession at home, and the Allies abroad, so every thing both at home and abroad is now against them. But all the Whigs, as well Dissenters as Churchmen, without excepting one that ever appear'd, have continu'd inviolably true to the Allies and Confederates, zealous for the legal Constitution and Monarchy, as well as unmoveably stanch for the Protestant Interest and the *Hanoverian* Succession: which last consideration ought to absolve 'em with all equitable judges, from being antimonarchical or popular Republicans; as it is no small honor to them, that whoever oppose the designs of the Papists, be they of what communion they will, are by them call'd Whigs promiscuously. The Whigs therefore, My Lord (which is the thing that concerns you most to know in your present circumstances) are not onely the party fittest for the King to consult and employ, as being the best Patriots; but are likewise the men in whom he actually places most trust and confidence, being those to whom he has so great personal obligations, as his Royal Majesty has graciously own'd to the whole world by the following words of his Speech at the opening of this Parliament. *I most gladly make use of this opportunity (says he) to thank my faithful and loving subjects, for that Zeal and Firmness that has been shown in defence of the Protestant Succession, against all open and secret practices that have been us'd to defeat it: and I shall never forget the Obligations I have to those, who have distinguish'd themselves upon this occasion.* That these are the Whigs is what no body will go about to deny, and they securely
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depend

depend upon King *GEORGE*'s royal promise, who's known to be the Prince of the greatest Integrity, Honor, and Steadiness, in *Europe*. And who shou'd he trust or prefer, but those who love him and the Constitution? which is the best and surest Test of all others. The behavior of the Tories under the last Ministry, and during the late Rebellion, puts the one and the other point out of all dispute; and consequently no Tory (as such) can ever expect to be trusted or prefer'd, tho the persons so call'd, whenever they give sincere marks of being true Protestants and Loyal subjects, may be sure of as favourable treatment as other *Britons*. As for the subdivisions, or particular species of Whigs and Tories, and especially the Trimmers, they come more properly to be consider'd under some of the other heads, concerning which you have been pleas'd to demand my sentiments, and which I shall proceed to give you. But, to say it once for all in this place, Patriots and Loyalists, Court and Country-parties, tho in themselves words significant enough, yet they are become very equivocal, as men are apt to apply them: whereas Whig and Tory, as here determin'd, cannot be mistaken; for men may change, and words may change, but principles never. Wherefore the Actions of a man is at all times a better rule by which to know his Principles, than is his Profession or Denomination. But there is no fixing of Court and Country-parties, otherwise than as the Court and Country themselves are fixt, that is, well or ill dispos'd: the Court haveing been sometimes in the right, when the Country were deluded to destruction; and the Country having, in its turn, stopt the pernicious carrear of the Court. Every man is Loyal, if you'll believe him; and the most Disloyal or discontented is not only call'd by himself, but is often thought by others, the truest Patriot. But the Whig will no more be reckon'd a Tory, than a Tory will pass for a Whig, unless he's to get by it.

IV. Of PROTESTANCY and POPERY,
with relation to Great BRITAIN
and IRELAND.

AS I never knew any man better appriz'd of the true difference between the Protestants and the Papists, with all their subdivisions, than your self; so did I never know any man more firmly grounded in his own Religion, or more sincere in the profession of it: and practising nevertheless the greatest charity, indulgence, and humanity, towards those of all other persuasions. You may well imagine then, that my design is not to enter into the merits of the cause on either side, nor to write as if I were a Divine, to a person who's so capable to instruct me: but I shall here consider Protestancy and Popery barely as they regard our *British* Empire, wherein as the Protestant is the National religion, so it is beyond comparison the best adapted to the happy and flourishing condition of the inhabitants. The same Prince who is head of our State, is also head of our Church; as the same subjects who are members of our Church, are they who compose our State: so that we neither import holy Orders, Palls, or Collations, from any foreign countrey; nor export our money thither in exchange for such commodities as Indulgences, Pardons, Reliques, *Agnus Dei's*, and the like trumpery. Our Clergy are no more half-subjects, than our Churches can be shut up, or our people put under an Interdict at the pleasure of a Pontif, devoted, as it often happens, to our mortal enemies. Half of our people are not forbid marriage, and exercising of honest callings, to the great detriment of Trade, as well as the manifest depopulation of the country: nor do Pilgrimages and numerous Holydays, make the other half idly neglect the business of the publick and and of their families. We allow of no distinction or

prohibition in Eatables, but what temperance only enjoins ; and so are not left to the uncertainty of the seasons, or the mercy of other nations, for the food that shall be prescrib'd by the Priest, as fittest for nourishing Devotion. We have commonly but one set of Priests to maintain, and have no *Imperium in Imperio*, as all Popish Princes necessarily have ; to the obstruction of their affairs, and the distraction of their subjects, as may be seen at this very instant in *France*, in *Sicily*, and elsewhere. I could carry this comparison of worldly advantages much further, than my propos'd brevity will permit : and I am satisfy'd, My Lord, that a Religion which diminishes the wealth or the power of any nation, which injures their bodies or enslaves their consciences, is not the most likely to make the best provision for their Souls, and to procure their eternal happiness ; true Piety having the promises of this world, and of that which is to come. But we *Britons* being firmly persuaded, that the Protestant Religion is preferable to all others in spiritual as well as temporal regards, the most conformable to Scripture, and the most agreeable to Reason, have made it an essential part of our Constitution, adding the sanction of the laws to the conviction of our minds. As the Body of our people therefore are Protestants, it is not only their interest to have a Protestant King ; but it is likewise the interest of this King to manifest a serious concern for the Protestant Religion, which makes his subjects no less free and wealthy, than it recommends himself to their love and veneration. But in a King of *Great Britain* zeal for the Protestant Cause must extend much further, than the limits of his own dominions ; which being justly accounted the bulwark of the Reformation, he ought to act sutablely to this high station : and consequently, as he's to head the Protestant Interest every where, so he's to allow his protection equally to all sorts of Protestants. This consideration made me a little angry, not many Weeks since, at the sight of a charitable exhortation in favor of some foreign distressed Protestants, wherein the chiefest motive

to relieve them was their having Bishops: as if those Protestants, who have no Bishops were not as deserving of our assistance, and that indeed the Bishops of those desolate Churches differ in nothing from the Superintendents and Moderators of the other Protestants. But as I am satisfy'd this was well meant, I shall say no more of it. The King of these nations then, could he be suppos'd indifferent with regard to his own soul, yet as a mere Politician he ought to discountenance and root out Popery with all imaginable diligence. Nor can the Divine, and truly Protestant principle of Toleration be pleaded in their behalf; first, because the Papists own a foreign Power, incompatible with the allegiance due to their natural Sovereign: secondly, because they allow of the Pope's dispensing with oaths and keeping no faith with those he declares to be Hereticks; which subverts all honour and government at once, this being as bad, if not worse than Atheism: and thirdly, because the Papists never grant a Toleration to others; whereas all others, even *Turks* and *Heathens*, tolerate every Religion not inconsistent with common Justice and Morality. And upon this occasion, My Lord, I challenge any Man upon Earth to show me, where any Popish Princes or States have ever us'd Protestants well, or as much as barely tolerated them, whenever it wholly depended upon them to do otherwise. The world cannot afford an instance: and so far are the Papists from approving of Toleration in any sense, that they do not even thank any State for allowing it to themselves; but attribute it in others to a principle of lukewarmness in their own religion, or of indifference to all. This being a fact of indisputable notoriety, it would appear strange that the Pretender's Protestant adherents in the late Rebellion had stipulated nothing with him (as actually they did not) in behalf of Religion or Government; were it not plain from this very Instance among many others, that Popery and Despotic Power were their aim at bottom as well as his. But not to leave our principal point, We *Brissons* further perceive that the governing prin-

Principle of *Rome* is worldly, earthly, tyrannical ; and that the Papal Hierarchy is a mere Political Faction, erecting a splendid, pompous, and universal Empire over mankind : the better to maintain which, they put out the eyes of their Votaries understanding, and stick at no force or fraud, at nothing ever so infamous, inhumane, or barbarous, to promote their cause, which they sanctify by the name of the CHURCH ; a word that has caus'd more bloodshed than the ten Heathen Persecutions fifty times doubl'd. At present however we are pritty easy on this account, not fearing either the secret practises or the bare-fac'd Enterprizes of the Pope's emissaries ; since we have a King who's no less vigilant than he's eminently zealous, who's engag'd in principle as well as interest to protect the Protestants every where : and who'll be sure to call the Pope himself soon to an account, for his late audacious assisting a traiterous attempt upon his Life and Government, with money, advice, and several other means. Let not your Lordship mistake me, as if we intended a Religious Warr, than which there's nothing so monstrous, so unnatural, so abominable on the offensive side ; and the frequent promoting of such execrable desolations and slaughters by the See of *Rome* (wherewith all Christian histories abound) are to us as clear indications of the Antichristianism of Popery, as are its gross Idolatries and scandalous multitude of Superstitions. But I tell you in plain terms (what no Popish Prince can resent, and what is not in the least design'd on the score of Popery, as going under the notion of a Religion) that King GEORGE cannot in point of honor or security omit demanding satisfaction from the sovereign of *Rome*, the Prince of the Ecclesiastical State distinguish'd by what title you please, for the affront he put upon him last year, by the publick Prayers he order'd for the Pretender's success, and the other more effectual succours he afforded him. It imports the Independency of every Christian Prince, to see a Squadron sent to *Civita Vecchia* upon this very score.

V. Of the ESTABLISH'D CHURCH
and the DISSENTERS, of HIGH
and LOW-CHURCHMEN.

TO so good a Philosopher and so good a Christian as your Lordship, not the controversies in matters of Religion, but the intemperate heats and uncharitable deportment of the litigants, are offensive. 'Tis impossible for reasonable men not to differ about the meaning of ancient Books or intricate Doctrines, but not at all necessary they shou'd hate one another; as clamor and force are not likely to be the fairest methods of decision. You are so well acquainted already with the differences between the *British* Protestants, with respect to the parity or imparity of Gospel-Ministers (which makes no difference in their doctrines of Faith) that you wonder this matter has not been long ago accommodated: and tis certain, that if the most numerous party had been of the same temper with the most learned and pious, this affair had been now happily over, or on such a foot as not to keep up any enmity or rancor between the respective Communities. Since both the Episcoparians and the Presbyterians, the Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers, are all agreed in their Opposition to the Tyranny, Idolatry, and Superstitions of Popery, why may they not also agree to live quietly by one another? And why may not each recommend his own Way, by a mutual emulation of sound Doctrine and exemplary Liveing? The not doing of this, must either proceed from some hardships to which the National Church wou'd subject the Dissenters, or from some encroachments of the Dissenters on the National Church. But be it which you will or both, the disease was not thought incurable: for King *William* and Queen *Mary* recommended to the Convocation the makeing of *convenient Alterations in the Litur-*

gy, Ceremonies, and Canons, the correcting of Abuses in Ecclesiastical Courts, and the like; but such good designs have not hitherto had their desir'd effect. Yet both sides being hearty Protestants, I hope they may be easily brought to love each other as brethren. Their differences in reality are of little moment (the Quakers excepted) if the notion of a Bishop here, be once acknowledged the same with that of a Bishop in other Protestant countries; which will nothing diminish the *English* Bishop's rank or revenue, these being the pure gift of the State, be the notion of a Bishop what it will. The first Reformers, and the best of the Bishops themselves successively, have declar'd for this: but such as were popishly inclin'd, or deluded by the policy of the Papists, eagerly maintain'd the Divine Right of Bishops, as a distinct Order from Presbyters, and not as Supervisors or Moderators chosen out of the same Order. These opposite dispositions in men of the same communion have begot the distinction of High and Low Churchmen, which you desire me to explain, and which I shall do with all the perspicuity and precision possible. To begin therefore with the last, the Low Churchmen are they who approve of Episcopacy, the Liturgy, and Discipline establish'd by law; but who believe the Protestant religion may subsist (tho not so well) without them; who therefore have a brotherly charity and communion with all other Reform'd Churches; and who with the Dissenting Protestants at home wou'd comply with the law in matters indifferent or un sinful, tho in their private opinion not the purest: but who, if the Dissenters will not allow this indifference or un sinfulness, are for bringing them to Conformity by calm reason and amicable persuasion, and not by laying them under any force or compulsion, so long as they join with them in the defence of the same doctrines against the Papists, and that they are as hearty as themselves for supporting the civil Government. The High Churchmen are they, who maintain the order of Bishops (superior to Presbyters) to be of Divine Institution, and to be of such absolute

absolute necessity, that no true Orders can be conferr'd, nor any true Christianity subsist without it; who on no considerations are for making any changes in our Discipline or Liturgy, tho they neither profess themselves nor the authors of them infallible; who treat all Protestants abroad and Dissenters at home as no Christians, so farr are they from acknowledging them as their brethren; and who are for compelling the Dissenters in particular to Conformity, by penal Laws, Censures, and Incapacities. The Low Churchmen are for limiting the civil Government by laws, preserving to the King, and to the other two Estates, their several privileges and prerogatives, and their liberty and property to the People. But the High Churchmen have been generally for the uncontrollable Power of the Prince in temporal affairs, as most agreeable to the Jurisdiction they claim to themselves in Ecclesiasticks: tho tis observable that they have twice declar'd for Limitations to the Crown, first in all King *William's* time, when they question'd the Prince's title; and next in the former part of Queen *Anne's* time, when she happen'd not to be for their turn. After this account you'll wonder no longer why the Low Churchmen have been always so zealous for the house of *Hanover*, in which they wisely propos'd the securing to themselves and their posterity the profession of the Protestant Religion, with the possession of their civil Liberties and Enjoyments. The Dissenters have been all of them no less constant to the same Family, and upon the self-same accounts; which drew upon them the no small indignation of the High Churchmen, who by the premisses you may easily guess to be for the Pretender, if not for Popery: for they must be fully convinc'd in their minds, allowing them but a moderate share of understanding, that an *Italian* Religion and a *French* Government, wou'd be the inevitable Consequences of his Restoration as they term it. As the late Queen's Tory Ministers did ominously pursue the politicks of King *James*, so Letters were written to cajole or frighten the Dissenters into their measures: but these not giving way to the one or the

other Method, the ministers to be reveng'd, and to model the Corporations towards an Election of Parliament, got the *Sobism Act* pass, in which home attempt for setting aside the Protestant Succession, some Low Churchmen did ignorantly assist them. 'Tis certain the Dissenters cou'd have weather'd this heavy storm, if they had beene less stanch for their persons or the cause aforesaid: and tis (as I said above of the Whigs) no small honor to the Dissenters, that, from the very beginning, they have been ever mortally hated by the Popish faction under all shapes; and that not one of them turn'd Papist in the late times, all those that unhappily did so, having been profest High Churchmen. To say it by the by, railing against the Dissenters is an infallible evidence of the insincerity of a new Convert, who shews himself thus unacquainted with the true genius and doctrines of the Protestant Religion: and, upon the whole, your Lordship cannot fail concluding with me, that the Dissenters have highly merited of the Protestant Interest, and of our Protestant King.

VI. Of a NATIONAL RELIGION and
TOLERATION, and whether it be
expedient for a Government to have
but ONE RELIGION.

AS for the National Church, My Lord, commonly call'd the Church of England (tho' all the Protestants of England collectively do more properly deserve this title) you are too well acquainted with the doctrine and constitution of it, and too well vers'd in the writings of those glorious Luminaries with which it has blest the world, not to acknowledge it to be a most illustrious part of the Reformation: for as to those excessive and indeed ridiculous commendations, which

which some, going under this denomination, have so lavishly heap'd on themselves, with their scandalous depreciating and vilifying of others you are too equitable to impute it to the whole body ; as it evidently appears at length, that they, who us'd this opprobrious language, are no less enemies to the Church of *England* than to all other Protestant Churches. But making now a body by themselves. I shall under the next Head speak of them by themselves. You are also so intimately skill'd in the nature of Society, and so great a lover of Order, that you like us not the worse for having a National Church : nay, I dare promise for you, that you'll own no country professing any Religion can possibly be without a National Religion ; and yet that every man ought at the same time to have the choice of his own Religion, since nothing is more consistent than a Publick Establishment and Liberty of Conscience. By this last phrase, My Lord, we do not mean Licentiousness in morals (which has no Plea from Conscience) nor Indifference as to all Religions : but a free Toleration both of such actions as are in their own nature allow'd to be indifferent, or in their circumstances un sinful ; and of such doctrines or opinions as are not destructive of humane Society and all Religion, but consisting in bare speculation, and solely regarding the conscience or persuasion of men. The equity of this Liberty is grounded upon the use of Reason which is equally the right of all men, upon the nature of things, and upon the difference of Education as well as of Capacities. But, as coming under a political regulation, it is either entire or partial. Entire Liberty of Conscience is, where a man according to the dictates of his own Conscience, may have the free exercise of his Religion, without any impediment to his Preferment or Employment in the State. Partial Liberty of Conscience is, where a man according to the dictates of his own Conscience, may have the free exercise of his Religion ; but if it be not the National Religion, he is thereby render'd incapable of Preferment or Employment in the State. Doubtless

every man in the world wou'd be glad to enjoy the Liberty of his Conscience, and partial if he cannot obtain it entire. Upon this consideration, according to the infallible rule of *doing to others what you wou'd be done unto*, it wou'd be a most absurd thing for any man or party enjoying this Liberty, to envy theirs to the National Church: for as the conviction of a man's private Conscience, produces his private Religion; so the conviction of the national Conscience, or of the majority, must every where produce a National Religion. Where therefore wou'd be the Liberty of Conscience in respect of any party, which shou'd so proceed as to show, that without taking their Liberty of Conscience from others, they think they cannot have it themselves? If the publick refusing this Liberty to a party, occasions uneasiness and perhaps tumults, how much more a party refusing it to the publick? Such a party wou'd be as inexcusable, for disturbing an Establishment that does not oppress them; as the Establishment wou'd be blameworthy, which shou'd oppress a party that does not disturb it: for a National Religion must not be a *Publick Driving*, but a *Publick Leading*, says *Harrington*, to whom every man is oblig'd who writes on this subject. As to the thing in general I am satisfy'd Your Lordship and I are agreed, and that according to the degrees of Religious Liberty we see in any country we may from thence safely judge of its Civil Liberty viz. that it is perfect, or by halves, or none at all. The State of *England* by granting Liberty of Conscience is convinc'd by experience as well as reason, that *Diversity of Religions*, and much more *Diversities in the same Religion* (which is the case of the National Church and the Dissenters) is very consistent with good Government: not the Difference of opinions, but using me ill for this Difference, being the true cause of all the hatred and animosities ordinarily reigning between different sects. 'Tis not Toleration (the source of Science) but Persecution (the root of Ignorance) that produces sedition and troubles. The Dissenters are as faithful King *GEORGE*, as zealous for the Government and the

Reform'd Interest, as the Church establish'd by Law can possibly pretend to be. Their purses are as open to support them, and their hands (if they were permitted) as ready to defend them. Our Protestants of all sorts drive their traffick and commerce, set up their stocks and companies, and keep their feasts and clubs promiscuously, without exception to one another's opinions. And who sees not, that the heats which yet remain among us, are by no means owing to the Church of *England*, or to the different Persuasions from it; but to that Party, which under pretence of being the flower of this Church, repines at Liberty of Conscience, and rebels against Civil Liberty? I appeal to all the subjects of *Great Britain* if this be not so in fact. 'Tis a notion therefore as false in it self, as common among shallow Politicians, that *'tis necessary for a Government to have but one Religion*. But they'll object, My Lord, that in some countries where Liberty of Conscience has been establish'd, there were discords nevertheless and disturbances upon the score of Religion. I grant it, and answer withall, that 'tis because this Liberty was not entire; and that were it entire, 'tis impossible any disorder should happen on a Religious account. Entire Liberty of Conscience is not onely the most equitable in it self, as the subjects are *Britons* and Protestants alike; the most expedient in Politicks, as it furnishes the King with more hearts, and the nation with more hands: but 'tis also the most certain way of preserving the Church of *England* not only safe, but even flourishing in all its dignities and emoluments. To demonstrate this, I shall here inform you what I mean by National and Tolerated Churches. That is the National Church (true or false) whose ministers and places of worship are maintain'd at the common charge of the nation, be it by tythes, quarterly salaries, or any other assessment. The Tolerated Churches are they, which maintain their ministers and places of worship (or their places of worship onely as the Quakers) by the voluntary contributions of the members of the same. The subscription to her Articles requir'd by the National Church, from those that freely offer themselves to officiate

ciate in the publick Churches, is no imposition: but the grievance is, not to let any officiate in private Churches without such a subscription; nor to enjoy any place of Trust or Power in the State, without conforming to the National Church. The Dissenters think this is not onely branding them for their opinions, and punishing them for what is no crime; but, tho good and faithful Subjects, depriving them of their native rights, and excluding them from what is due to their abilities, or ought to be the reward of their services. What remedy then? How shall the Church be secur'd, and the Dissenters be contented? To give the promis'd Demonstration in a few words (which has satisfy'd a very great man before your Lordship) ' Let the National Church, ' in the first place, continue in her legal Ecclesiastical ' preheminance; let her Clergy enjoy all their present ' dignities, immunities, and possessions; and to confirm these beneficial privileges, let new laws be added to the old, if any be wanting. Secondly, let the Tol-erated Churches likewise enjoy their legal Religious liberty; let them be treated, as well as reputed, like good subjects; and admitted, without any partial distinction, to all offices in the State. Thirdly, let it be the irrevocable Law of England, that whatever sect is not contented with this civil and religious Liberty, but shall endeavour at any time to make themselves the National Church, be to all intents and purposes reduc'd to the condition of *Helots* or slaves. But there will be no fear of this direful misfortune befalling any; for those of the National Church, finding themselves in all respects secure and unmolested, will never seek to oppress the Dissenters. On the other hand the Dissenters, being permitted to worship God, as they think most proper, and equally shareing with others in the State, will never go about to disturb the National Church, merely to be eas'd of what they contribute to their Ministers. And the Ministers being as largely provided for in this manner, as if they had the inferior Benefices (for the greater Dignities agree not to their Parity) wou'd contentedly remain as they are, since they cou'd get nothing,

and wou'd run a hazard to lose all, by the change. This, till I see the contrary, I take to be irrefragable Demonstration: and I like it not the worse that King William was of the same opinion, declar'd in his Speech to the Parliament, on the 16th of March 1688, wherein he tells them, that *as he hop'd they wou'd sufficiently provide against all Papists, so he hop'd they wou'd leave room for the admission of all Protestants that were willing and able to serve.* This Conjunction in my service, adds he, will tend to the better uniting you among yourselves, and to the strengthening you against your common Adversaries. A Bill was accordingly brought in, containing no other Test, but that the Person to be employ'd shou'd produce a certificate of his having received the Sacrament (within a year) before or after admission) in some Protestant congregation. To King William's considerations of Strength and Unity, King George adds those of Trade and Riches, not forgetting the genuine spirit of Christianity: for in his Declaration of the 22d of Sept. 1714, he truly affirms, that *the Establish'd Church may be maintain'd in all its Rights, without the least impairing the Toleration allow'd by law to Protestant Dissenters; so agreeable to Christianity, and so necessary to the Trade and Riches of the kingdom.* I beg leave to subjoin, that instead of impairing, the Toleration ought to be improv'd, as above propos'd. A stricter Unity in the nature of things cannot be obtain'd, and in the effects it is adequate to perfect Unity, any other Comprehension being impracticable. To unite therefore and to strengthen, to enrich and to enlarge the Kingdom, to make it more Humane and more Christian, your Lordship will join your wishes with mine, that, in the first place, the *Act against Occasional Conformity* may be repeal'd, which occasional Communion is the noblest practice in the world, as it is *the tryal of all things* recommended by the Apostle, as it shows an approbation of each others way at least in part, and as it tends in time to constant Communion, infinitely more than irritating (I was going to say unjust) Incapacities can do. We may expect in the next place, that the same lot may befall the *Schism-Act*, which was purposely promoted

ted to weaken the Protestant Interest in general, and as a revenge in particular on the Dissenters, for their inviolable adherence to the house of *Hanover*. And in the last place to complete this glorious work (the most absolute safeguard the Reformation can ever receive) we hope, that *the Sacramental Test* may be abolish'd with regard to all Protestants in *England* and *Ireland*, as well as of all *Scots-men* in *England*: for certainly nothing can be more unequal or absurd, than that a *Scots* Presbyterian must be excluded from Preferment in *England*, and yet that an *Englisch* Episcoparian shou'd be capable of all Posts in *Scotland*. I have purposely forbore meddling with the profanation and prostitution of the Sacrament, unanswerably charg'd by the Dissenters on making it a Party-Test: for you have not requir'd me to discuss points of Divinity. Our gracious King (who's the party most concern'd, since good Government is the onely plea for this *Test-Act*) has not onely found all the Dissenters hearty to his cause, lovers of his person, and most peaceable subjects; but knows that the Government of his son-in-law the King of *Prussia* is never the more disturb'd, but on the contrary much the securer, for his imploying the *Lutherans* and the *Calvinists* promiscuously: nor at *Hanover*, as you very well know, was any Protestant ever debar'd serving in the Court, in the City, or in the Camp, on account of his Dissent from the National religious Establishment; which neither is, nor ever thought it self endanger'd, by this parental affection impartially extended to all those, who equally love their political father the Prince, and their common mother the Country. In a word, My Lord, a *Religious Test* is a *Political Monopoly*: and they who wou'd confine all civil Employments to one sect, must be of opinion (if they have any real opinion in the matter beyond a selfish fetch) that *Dominion is founded in Grace*. As for the Papists, I have shown you before, that it is not on account of any speculative or scholastick points, of any merely religious Doctrines tho ever so false, or religious Ceremonies tho ever so superstitious, that we exclude them from Offices and Employments. 'Tis *se defendendo* that we do it.

VII.

Of the DANGER OF THE CHURCH, and
of PROTESTANT POPERY.

AFTER all I have said, My Lord, under this last head, I can the easier resolve your question about *the Danger of the Church*, which you say has made a great noise in your parts, without being understood by any body: and I do assure your Lordship, that it is as little understood by the body of the people here at home, for as loud a din as it has made in their ears; yet wise men see through it, and are glad to find it is one of those stratagems that turn to the confusion of its authors. The Church is in no danger from the Dissenters, by what you have been just now reading. 'Tis in as little danger from the King, who not only came timely to save it, but who has prov'd very bountiful to it since his coming, besides all his sincere Declarations in its favour, and his constant attendance at its Offices. Our Ministers of state have been born and bred in this Church; and our Members of Parliament, not ten *Englishmen* excepted, are every one of the same Communion. But the Church having been in real danger in the Year 1688, and the preaching of this danger by the Clergy having powerfully wrought on the minds of the people; the Clergymen who are inclin'd to Popery, or otherwise engag'd in the Pretender's interest, flatter'd themselves, that by the same cry (well or ill grounded) they might at any time bring about as great a revolution. But the best of it is for the nation, and the worst for them, that they never open'd upon this topick from that time to this, but when there was the least occasion, or even appearance for't. In the years 1704-5-6-7-8, when every thing prosper'd at home and abroad, a terrible clamour was made about the danger of the Church, by such as wou'd have a revolution in the Government, or at least in the Ministry: and yet in the years

1710-11-12-13, when our reputation abroad, and tranquillity at home, were visibly decaying, then the Church was as safe as cou'd be ; not a word preach'd to the contrary. But now again under the happy reign of King GEORGE, what a noise about the Church's Danger from every quarter of the land ? as if it were its peculiar fate never to be safe, when every thing besides is thriving. When the hopes of the Papists are ruin'd, when we have a truly Protestant King, a wise Protestant Ministry, and all other Protestants rejoicing at our felicity, that then the Church of *England* shou'd be in the greatest danger ; what a seeming Paralogism ! I will not say Paradox, is this ? But at last it too plainly appear'd, what Church of *England* it was they meant all this time. It was *Romish Popery* in the mouths of some, and *English Popery* in the mouths of others : for they were a confus'd medley of Nonjurors, Papists, and For swearers ; that always join'd in this cry, as they likewise join'd in the design of frustrating the Protestant Succession, and setting up a profest Papist on the throne ; which, one wou'd think, was an odd way of securing the Church of *England* as by Law establish'd. It was impossible for any man with half an eye (as we say) not to perceive their aim ; for not a word did they mutter of the Church's Danger, when Papists and Jacobites were not only openly encourag'd, but actually employ'd. The Church was in no danger when an apostate spawn of Dissenters were in the Ministry, who, to shew the sincerity of their conversion, carry'd matters higher than the very Church-Papists ever dar'd to do. The Church was in no danger all the while the Pretender was a bringing in, when the late Queen was not seen for several months at Divine Service, when Abbot Gautier had more access to her than any of her Chaplains. Not that I wou'd conclude from what her health might require, that she dy'd a Papist, but I retort in their own way of arguing from appearances ; and I desire every body to consider, what a noise they wou'd have made, had King *William* dy'd, as she did, without taking the Sacrament ? He must have been a fool, in short, that did not understand their watch-word of *Hereditary*. But leaving the real Papists out of the question, with all those who at bottom intend

intend a coalition with the Papists (whom no body doubts to be in a perpetual conspiracy against our Church and State) the truest, the greatest danger to the Church of *England* in particular, as to the Protestant Interest in general, has been and is from those (my Lord) who aim at erecting the worst part of Popery here at home, I mean the Independency of the Church upon the State: for the speculative doctrines of Popery, false and absurd as they are, even its gross superstitions and idolatries, are not half so pernicious to mankind, as its spiritual Tyranny, its insupportable Hierarchy; and what imports it to us by what name it goes, or whether the Pontiff resides at *Rome* or at *Canterbury*? Our quarrel is with the thing; a thing, I say, never taught by Christ or his Apostles, and as contrary to Reason as it is to the Gospel. This Independency therefore, tho without Transubstantiation, is what I peculiarly call *Protestant Popery*; and is as proper an expression at least as that of *English Catholics*, which those apes of *Rome* have lately assum'd. We have seen them oppose the Queen's Supremacy in Convocation; and it appears from *Lesley's* Letter to the Bishop of *Salisbury*, that they had the Pretender's promise for settling their belov'd Independency, to which, he says, the Queen was privy. Upon this occasion give me leave to tell your Lordship, that Father *Francis*, the ringleader of our Protestant Jesuits, and whom you properly stile *the Convocation Bousefeu*, has no less aspiring notions, nor had he less dangerous views till blasted by the *Hanover* family's taking place, than old *Laud* himself, or any other rampant high Priest ever entertain'd. In order to compass their grand design, they tagg'd to their doctrine of Independency, those of the necessity of Confession and Absolution, nay Prayers for the Dead, and Extreme Unction, admirable Engines to inflave the living: and I am sorry to say it, that (the present Bishops of *Ely*, *Norwich*, *Bangor*, the late Bishop of *Sarum*, and a few others excepted) these unprotestant attempts were not so effectually oppos'd, as might be expected, from the rest of our Clergy; no more than the conspirator's impiously unchurching and unchristianing the other Reform'd congregations abroad and at home. I am

willing, however to believe, the loyal Clergymen, who were silent, did not see the tendency of these points; and hope, that now the mine is discover'd beyond contradiction, they'll be more wary for the future: especially that at length, as if it were a judgment upon them, they are involv'd themselves in the same state of damnation by the *Nonjurant Priests*, which shews the ridiculousness of the sentence, on this score, from any Priests whatsoever. These *Protestant Papists* have made Episcopal Ordination of such importance, that one of their number confin'd Immortality to such only as were baptiz'd by Priests so ordain'd; which if it be not downright Conjureing, I know not what deserves the name. I have been thus particular in my deduction, to let your Lordship fully into this mystery of iniquity, and to leave you to judge, from what parts the Church of *England* had the greatest danger to fear. But as Interest is the father of the faction's Religion, so Ignorance is the mother of their Devotion. The Lay zealots that roar'd heartiest in taverns and coffee-houses about the Danger of the Church, were observ'd to be generally men as void of knowledge as of morality; creatures that practis'd as little of Religion as they understood of Government; such as were scarce seen, even out of decency, within the walls of any church. The Ecclesiasticks, that with *Sacheverel*, thunder'd it loudest out of their pulpits, were, like him, the worst scholars, and the worst liver's of their Order, meddling and ambitious to the highest degree; meer atheists in their conduct, preaching *Non-Resistance*, and sometimes *Rebellion*; preaching *Hereditary Right*, and taking the *Oath of Abjuration*; preaching Canonical Obedience, and rebelling against the Authority of their Bishops; valuing themselves upon being the most refin'd Christians. and yet Heathenishly portending judgments from the eclipse, from the mortality amongst the cattle, from uncommon meteors, and the ordinary alterations of the weather; representing the Dissenters despicable, when they wou'd have 'em oppress'd, and formidable when the Church was to be in Danger: thus blowing hot and cold upon all subjects, both when they were in, and when they were out of the pulpit. Such examples had a suitable influence, for I do averr to
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your Lordship, that their hearers, that is to say their followers, are as stupidly ignorant as the nominal Christians in *Spain* and *Mingrelia*. But the most fatal mischief is, their having by this shameless conduct, and the monstrous falsities they spread for spiriting their cause, destroy'd, in great measure, all regard for truth and plain-dealing among the meaner people. Yet notwithstanding the many rebukes from heaven, upon those Instruments in league with hell, there be of 'em still that impudently affirm, or insinuate the same Danger of the Church; and if they mean themselves, or their *English Catholick* conventicle (of which hereafter) they are absolutely in the right on't: the first are in danger to be hang'd, and the last is sure to be annihilated. 'Tis no wonder you'll say, that men of this kidney show so little tenderness for their fellow Protestants: to which I add, that they have done infinite hurt to the Church of *England* it self many ways; lessening the reverence of those towards her, who cou'd not distinguish this spurious brood from her legitimate issue. Many were highly scandaliz'd to see Parsons turn captain Tom's at elections, perfect hectors and bullies; distinguishing themselves by the cut of their gowns, and carrying wooden Churches to animate their wooden admirers, whom they were preferring to wooden shoos; no rakes more warmly promoting seditious healths in full bumpers than they, nor any buffoons using more bitter or scurrilous invectives, not to insist on their nonsensical cry of **HIGH-CHURCH**. So that were they confounded by all, as they are by some few, with the rest of the Clergy, the Church wou'd be in Danger indeed; most eminently in danger from their fondness of power, from their intolerable haughtiness, from their persecuting spirit, from their Popish inclinations, from their avarice, intemperance, lazyness, and ignorance. But your Lordship has good ground to hope that the genuine Churchmen, the true successors of the old Reformers, men as remarkable for their Moderation, as renown'd for their Learning, will observe a quite different conduct in all these points: but more particularly, that they will now inculcate to their flocks a greater regard
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for their Protestant brethren every where ; and show them as well the absurd inconsistency, as the hidden poison of that High-Church axiom, *that they wou'd rather be Papists than Presbyterians*. By how much this Jesuitical notion has been artfully spread, by so much the more industriously ought it to be timely exploded ; for whoever says he had rather be a Papist than a Presbyterian, is already either actually a Papist, or not at all instructed in the Protestant Religion. This puts me in mind of what an antient and venerable Divine delivers upon this subject, that *shou'd one who has the shape of a man, speak the truth in saying, he had rather be a Fool with red hair, than a Prudent man with black hair, he is undoubtedly a Fool, what colour soever his hair is of.*

VIII.

Of the PARLIAMENT and the JUDGES, of CREDIT and TRADE.

I COME now (my Lord) to the next head you propos'd to me, I mean the present *Parliament*, which is as favourable as your own heart can wish, or mine either ; whether we consider the common good of *Europe*, or the particular interest of *Britain*. Much the majority of the members have been ever zealous for the Protestant Succession, and consequently are inviolably true to King *GEORGE* ; who, nevertheless, neither directly nor indirectly concern'd himself in the Elections, in order to gain this superiority, so happy for himself and his people. Being so curious in your nature, and having spent so much time in this kingdom formerly, it wou'd be superfluous, if not impertinent in me, to offer at giving you any farther light than you possess already, concerning the Constitution of our *Parliaments*, which has nothing in common with other assemblies so call'd elsewhere ; these being courts of Judicature, and our three Estates of King, Lords, and

and Commons, making up the supreme Legislative power of the nation. You have often admir'd the wisdom of this Establishment, with the judicious distribution of the priviledges and prerogatives peculiar to each Estate; and how that as they are mutual awes and checks on one another, so they are to one another mutual lights and assistants. In the equilibrium of this body, and the unanimity of their deliberations, consists our greatest happiness; while, to our further comfort, the nature of their proceedings is such, that none of the Estates can scarce ever be surpriz'd or seduc'd into any pernicious measures, but that the other two may seasonably interpose, and the people also have sufficient time to petition or remonstrate, as the matter shall most properly require. The integrity of a Parliament I remember you us'd to call our *Palladium*; and its corruption we dread so much our selves, as to give birth to a Maxim in the mouth of every child, that *we can never be destroy'd but by a Parliament*. This corruption has been often attempted, and sometimes carry'd very far by diverse Artifices, and from different Interests, whether foreign or domestick. You are no stranger to the arbitrary designs of some of our own Princes, nor to the ambitious views of the Kings of *France*; either of which thought no method more compendious, or more conducive to their ends, than if they cou'd gain the stronger party in both houses of Parliament: tho our kind neighbours the *French*, usually contented themselves with laying out their money in one house, leaving the securing of the other to the King, or Queen, who (to our shame be it spoken) have been more than once their Pensioners. But as raking into this scandalous part of our History, is not what you require of me; but rather to give you a true account of what is expected from the disposition of the present Parliament: so I shall say no more of those mercenary transactions; but that the deadliest blow which was ever struck at the vitals of Parliament, has been the creating a whole dozen of *Peers* in one day, by the late Queen, while a most material Question was depending in the upper House, and carry'd by this very number. The Exigent was so pressing,

sing, that these subitaneous Lords had no Preambles to their Patents : as what indeed could be said——but I forbear. This was in short putting an end to all debate, and consequently to all freedom of Parliament at once. Yet not that Parliament itself, but the Queen's Ministers being accountable for this nefarious step, we hope, my Lord, that the present Parliament will restore the Constitution, by doing something equally remarkable and effectual, both to put an eternal brand upon that infamous action, and to secure Parliaments ever for the future from any such danger ; from the danger, I say, of being thus utterly subverted. This matter is so well set out in the Articles exhibited against the Earl of *Oxford*, that all the World have reason to expect the properest redress. No body disputes the Royal Prerogative in conferring of Honours : but singular regard ought to be paid to time and circumstances. 'Tis also expected, this excellent Parliament will deliver the Church and State of *England* from the machinations of a Popish faction, who, under the pretence of being zealous sticklers for this same State and Church, have well nigh brought both to utter ruin ; and, if not timely suppress'd, they will still continue to disturb the publick repose, insensibly alienating the minds of the subjects from their God and their King. But this I take to be a case of such importance, as to merit a head by itself, which I shall give you in its due order ; as well as another head about regulating our Universities and Pulpits, which is a further reformation no less expected from this Parliament. After these provisions for the safety of the Church, tis expected, as I told you above, that the Protestant Dissenters will be eas'd of the hardships under which they have been laid, out of Christian revenge for their firm adherence to the *Hanover* succession ; and likewise from all such unhappy barrs, as keep the King and Kingdom from using the hands of those whose hearts they have, as well as their purses. We hope the settling of these with the like things, contributing to the perpetual establishment of the Protestant Succession, and of the Protestant Interest, of the Publick Peace, and the Publick Wealth, were, at least, as strong motives to make the Parliament *septennial* ; as the

the putting of things abroad upon a better foot, and recovering the ancient reputation, honour, and faith of *Britain*, regaining the confidence of our Allies, and the esteem of the rest of the world. The ends are glorious, and glorious will be the rewards of attaining them : but nothing must discourage in the pursuit, no pains ought to be spar'd, no opposition or obloquy valu'd. The mending of some Laws, and the repealing of others, the reviving of obsolete ones, and the enacting of new ones, are things common to all Parliaments : but a method of putting the many excellent Laws we have in due Execution (extremely, ay shamefully wanting) is a thing, we hope, reserv'd to eternize the glory of the present Parliament. This point of putting the Laws in execution, puts me in mind (my Lord) of the Bench, which is not the place, I assure you, that occasions this general complaint ; neither did King *William* himself give Judges of greater ability or integrity to *Westminster-Hall*, than King *GEORGE*, whose choice, in this respect, is universally approv'd. And since I mention'd King *William*, truth obliges me to inform you, that as he consented to an Act of Parliament to continue the Judges for life, *quamdiu se bene gesserint* ; thus to free them, in part, from Court-influence : so what he refus'd to a Parliament, King *GEORGE* has done of his own accord, that is to say, augmented and ascertain'd the Judges salaries ; which renders them wholly independent, and therefore neither obnoxious to the bribery of Litigants, nor to the frowns of Courtiers. But to return to the Parliament, tis expected they'll redress what may be amiss in the right ordering and disposal of the Publick Revenues ; which is a thing of so great moment to National Credit, and so very essential towards acquitting the King of his engagements, whether at home or abroad. What's past is past, and next to avoiding any errors or abuses of this kind for the future, the best that can be done (and a noble work it will be) is to remedy such disorders in the most speedy, easy, and effectual manner. Your Lordship may depend upon it, that the King's heart is set upon delivering the nation

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from their grievous burthen of Publick Debts, wherein he will questionless be vigorously seconded by his Parliament and Ministry. Foreigners are not wholly unconcern'd in this article; but we are concern'd infinitely more. You cannot conceive the satisfaction every body takes, to see a King on the *British* throne, who, for many years before he grac'd it, presidid in the management of his *Hanoverian* Revenues; a King who understands the nature and extent of Credit, as well as any of his Merchants or Bankers; a King who is as farr from discharging his Debts by a Sponge, as he's from thinking the best way of paying National Debts, is to ruin National Credit; a King, I say, who is able to give lessons to the officers of his Exchequer, and who, as soon as he has accomplisht his God-like work of procuring Peace for *Europe*, will become his own High-Treasurer. He plainly sees the interest he has in the Publick Funds, and this on more than one account. He knows his own people are the only people in these parts of the world, that have any Credit at present; which he'll be sure to support no less than their Trade, from which it is inseparable. And as he's himself the most religious observer of his word of any Prince living, so the minds of his subjects were entirely compos'd, when they heard him declare from the throne, that *nothing can contribute more to the support of the Credit of the nation, than a strict observance of all Parliamentary engagements*. This is the basis, this is the reason of our *British* Credit: and can any after this, my Lord, be able to perswade you, that the Parliament will either diminish a penny of the interest, or shorten a day of the time stipulated in our Parliamentary contracts? No, assure yourself they will not. Paying off what is redeemable is another matter, nor will even this be done all at once, but in the most advantageous, in the most easy manner: and we may suppose all men will be for that, wherein they find their interest; or that if any shou'd not, the Publick will have little regard for their humourfome or selfish views. We see, by the example of *Holland*, how tender a thing Credit is: so jealous, that in the least breach of Faith, it

supposes the greatest; and so extensively suspicious, that the diffidence, in such a case, seizes subjects and foreigners alike. In fine, there being no other Publick Credit in *England*, but that of the Parliament, this same Parliament will support it as life: and they'll find out at the same time such expedients, nay some the very next Sessions, as will convince you, that we can fall into a way of discharging our incumbrances (which are your own words) yet without touching our Funds, which we hold to be sacred, and wherein therefore all wise foreigners will securely deposite their money. Nor is our Parliament (my Lord) less careful of Trade, which I constantly suppos'd in all I have said of Credit: for without Trade our Money wou'd be little, and our Credit still less. Trade is the soul of our *British* world; nor is it understood better in any part of the greater world. For this I appeal first to effects, in the riches of the nation in general (which are wholly owing to Trade) as in particular to the Princelike condition of many of our Merchants: and secondly to that collection of papers upon all parts of Trade, entitul'd, *The British Merchant*, which was digested by the ingenious Mr. *Henry Martin*, and dictated by Sir *Theodore Jansen* (no man abler for the task) and by some others; at a time when we were struggling for our Trade, as hard as for our Religion and Liberty, while a set of the most profligate wretches on earth, were giving our all away in a lump to our mortal enemies. Had you but heard your good friend Sir *Gilbert Heathcot* in those days, supported by no less nervous reason than long experience, unfolding the mysteries of Trade, and its influences on society; you wou'd, if it were possible, heighten your value for this meritorious *Father of the City*. But as for the conspirators, the better to compass their ends, they no less knavishly than foolishly coin'd a new distinction, between *the Landed interest*, and *the Money'd interest*: as if the products of Gentlemen's lands were worth any thing without money, or as if they were not more worth, when there's more money. But these being things, tho easy to your Lordship, yet unintelligible to many a raw youth and old fox-hunter which were the most numerous party in Queen *Anne's*

two last Parliaments) the managers made them believe monstrous absurdities concerning Trade, Money, Credit, and all that dealt in them; prepossessing the poor creatures to such a degree, that they became actually *felos de se*, as may be seen by their intended Treaty with *France*. For were our Trade once lost, as that Treaty taking effect must certainly have ruin'd it, what think you you'd become of our Publick Revenues, where would be the pay of our Fleets and Armies; how could the Landed men be paid their rents, and where could be our security against such as would cut our throats? So that giving up our Trade, was in effect laying violent hands on our selves; or, which is as bad, abandoning the care of our lives, when we might defend and preserve them. As we had a *Clodius* to expose whole Kingdoms to sale, so we had a *Gabinus* and others, to share the price of each beneficial branch of our Trade. One had so much for a small part of the *Spanish* Trade, I think 25000 pieces of eight; another 50000 pistoles for the kingdom of *Sicily*; a third so much for the *Assiento*, you may see the sum in the Report of the *Secret Committee*; and a fourth much more for parting with our Trade (I wish I could not say our honour, our all) to *France*. Those Parsons, who were engag'd in this wicked conspiracy, decry'd the *Money's Interest*, as loud as any, tho no people love money better than themselves: but they naturally hate Trade, not only as by the intercourse of nations, it renders men more polite than their schools, and more knowing than it is their interest to have them; but likewise because riches and property make men to be of course lovers of Liberty, to beat which notion out of their brains, has cost such Priests many a ridiculous Sophism. Yet with all their Syllogisms they could never persuade them, that their *Jure Divino* Monarch was any more sole landlord, or proprietor, or *Adam's* irresistible heir, than that he was the natural father of all his subjects. At length in God's good time King *GEORGE* came to rescue and recover our Trade, as he did every thing else that is dear or valuable to us: and I dare affirm to

you,

you, that he's highly sensible of what importance Trade is, both to his own greatness and his subjects felicity. After having thoroughly study'd the state of it upon his arrival here, you may quickly guess with what transports he was heard saying from the throne, *that some conditions essential to the Security and Trade of Great Britain, were not duly executed yet* (meaning among other things our Trade in *Spain*) *and that a great part of our Trade was render'd impracticable* (not forgetting *Mardyke* to be sure) *which, if not retriev'd, pursues our gracious King, must destroy our Manufactures, and ruin our Navigation*; in which last words you have a hint at *New-found Land*. To be brief, he cou'd not enjoy a moment's ease, till he obtain'd more advantageous terms for us in *Spain*, than ever we had at any time. So he has done in diverse other branches of our Traffick; and this to such a degree, that we never exported more of our own Manufactures than at present. Our Imports, especially of money, are proportionable. And not to insist upon the amendments in the *Assiento Contract*, which was otherwise visibly to our loss, the world will quickly behold, not only *Mardyke* demolisht; but with an imply'd condition, that no other canal be open'd, no nest of Privateers built, between that place and *Calais*: which is what the late Ministers ought to have stipulated, if they had not been privy and consenting to the making this much better port than *Dunkirk*. I take this natural occasion to tell your Lordship, that, generally speaking, the Whigs are the trading people of this country; and, for the honour of a Whig-Ministry, you need but peruse General *Stanhope's* Treaty of Commerce with King *Charles*, and that of the late Ministry with King *Philip*. I shall finish this head with a remark, which I know not how a person, bred under the prejudices of your country, may relish; and it is, that we being a trading nation ought, among other encouragements to Commerce, to aggregate, from time to time, some of the most eminent Citizens into the body of our Nobility; regard still had to their loyalty, riches, and generous manner of living. Tho Sir *William Scawen* is un-
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exceptionable in all these respects, and born a Gentleman, yet he's not the only proper subject that occurs on this occasion to my memory: but they being unknown to your Lordship, it wou'd be needless for me to name them. As needless it wou'd be, to produce authorities to a person of your vast reading, for justifying this proposal; and therefore I shall only put you in mind, how the *Venetians* of old, being hard put to it in the Warr with their rivals the *Genoese*, promis'd to receive into the body of their Nobility thirty families of those Citizens, who shou'd the most remarkably signalize themselves in the defence of their Country: whereupon all the opulent families, equally aspiring, and emulously contributing, the Republick gain'd a complete victory; nobilitating thirty families according to their promise, without forgetting to reward the rest in proportion to their deserts.



IX.

Of SCOTLAND and IRELAND.

THO I commonly use the word *England* in its proper sense, yet I sometimes understand by it all the *British* Dominions; the King's paternal love and care equally extending, in every thing I have said, to *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Both these countries, over and above their common deliverance, and the securing of their Religion and Property, have receiv'd distinguishing marks of his Majesty's favour. And well have they deserv'd it. None can be more zealous for the Protestant cause, nor have any been more hearty champions for the Protestant Succession, than those of the National Church of *Scotland*. This expos'd them to the fury of the *Papists*, and the vengeance of the *Ministry*; these last resolving to bend or break them, in both which designs they have been notoriously baffl'd. In how many instances did they make manifest

manifest breaches upon the Act of Union, in order to force the *Scots* into a Rebellion; or that the *Pretender* promising to repeal the Union, they might the easier fall in with him? First they made it a grievance, and then pointed to this remedy. Did they not gain an Act of Toleration to such as daily pray'd for the Pretender, and positively refus'd to pray for the Queen; who yet (poor Woman) was induc'd to ratify such a monstrous Act? What cou'd they mean by their restoring of Patronages, but to restore the *Jacobite* Priests to their Livings, to set the people together by the ears, and to destroy the National Church, contrary to the Act of Union, to several other Acts of Parliament, and to the Queen's own reiterated promises? Did they not so contrive it in these and many the like instances, as to weaken, or, as much as in them lay, to abolish all Ecclesiastical Discipline; even permitting the legal Incumbents to be daily thrust out of their Churches, by Papists, Nonjurors, and heathenish Highlanders? Did they not discourage Addressees in favour of the house of *Hanover*, and present such as expressly rejected this Family under very odious circumstances, which nevertheless were graciously receiv'd? Was there not an Army of merciless Banditi kept in constant pay, that, upon the word given, they might harass, abuse, plunder, and destroy, this soberest people of the world? I shou'd never have done, if I wou'd particularize to your Lordship all the infractions on the Union, all the attempts on Religion, all the breaches on their Privileges, and all the hardships on their Country, to which the loyal part of the *Scots* were subjected by a Popish and tyrannical faction, by an inrag'd and infatuated Ministry. But now the Tables are turn'd to some tune, as we say. They find there's a King on the throne, who means all that he says about their National Church, who'll perform all that he promises in its favour, and speaks of it in other terms than they have been us'd to hear. He has willingly sworn to maintain it, and sincerely subscrib'd the Instruments provided in that behalf by the Act of Union. He has re-establish'd its Authority and Discipline, which were so much enfeebl'd and neglected

lected: not to mention the late Royal Visitation in the north, which was no less seasonable than necessary. How unanimous, how chearful, how courageous, in defence of his person and cause, did he experience all those of this Church in the late Rebellion? while the pretended Church of *England* Men there, were to a man in the interest of the Pretender, and as many as cou'd in open arms for him. All the sophistry in the world will not be able to efface the impressions of these undeniable facts. The Union, which, by the artifices of our common enemies, became a grievance both here and there, his Majesty will make to be our mutual advantage. His way of uniting the two Nations, will not be that of *James I.*, by making *England* as poor as *Scotland*; but by making *Scotland*, if not as rich as *England* (which nature will scarce permit) yet much richer than otherwise it cou'd have been. He shows upon every occasion how farr he's from any bias or partiality in the distribution of honours or offices, never failing to reward the merit, or to use the ability of his north *Britons*, no less than of his south *Britons*: for he well knows, it is not enough they have one head, if they have not also one heart. What a blessing will the dissolution of their Vassalage, be to those *Scots* who are subject to it? An author, who wrote about 60 years ago, had a right sense of this matter; when, speaking of these Vassals, he says, that *being little better than the cattle of the Nobility, tis no wonder, that, according as the Nobility can make their markets with foreign Princes, those cattle shou'd be driven upon English ground: and therefore if the English be so tender as not to change this Vassalage all at once (they having had it then in their power) the blood that will be shed, must lie at their own door.* In another place enforcing this same argument, and using the same metaphors, he says, that *except the Clans and Vassalage in Scotland be dissolv'd, neither can the people have their Liberty there* [nota bene] *nor we govern quietly at home: for their continuing still liable to be sold by their Lords to foreign Princes, there will never be want of such Merchants and Drovers; while we must be the market, where they are to receive their second pay-*
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ment. We are both of us convinc'd of this by experience, and are now so happy as to see a beginning put to such a necessary regulation. Nor have the Protestant inhabitants of *Ireland*, my Lord, a less title to King *GEORGE*'s favour, or less to hope from his goodness: and certainly cou'd his Majesty be capable (as he is not) to harbour any fondness or partiality for a part of his subjects more than the rest, I fancy the Protestant *Irish* might lay the fairest claim to it; in as much as they have done more for him, and under more dangerous circumstances, than others. To one Protestant there are at least ten Papists there, all holding perpetual intelligence with Popish Princes; especially with the enemies of *England*, who are ready enough to furnish them with money, arms, leaders, advice, and other assistance. Add to this, that the late Ministry, to the infinite terror of the *British* Protestants, did openly favour the *Irish* Papists, who have constant Agents residing in *England*, supported by subscriptions to take care of their Interest. Notwithstanding these, and many other discouragements, the Protestants never flinch'd from *Revolution Principles*, as they use to call in that Kingdom their native and legal rights of defending their Religion, Liberty, and Property; by vertue of which principles King *William* came to the Crown, and King *GEORGE* enjoys it now. To begin with smaller matters, they were remarkably discountenanc'd for celebrating their deliverance from Popery and Slavery by King *WILLIAM*, which they annually do with great magnificence; and which neither the menaces of the Court, nor the most illegal Prosecutions, cou'd ever make them forbear. But, what must render the man equally ridiculous and despicable to all Posterity, Dr. *B---n*, Bishop of *C---k*, whose ambition farr surpasses his learning, wou'd needs, to flatter the Court for a better Bishoprick, make this grateful commemoration to be no less than a Sacrament; which horrid profanation shews that he's so farr from understanding (or at least believing) that Religion, whereof he's to teach the teachers, that he is even ignorant of his Catechism. Neither was he contented in his pitiful libel to prostitute his sacred function, and give

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preposterous proofs of his High-Churchmanship; but, in that and its defence, he must go out of his way to abuse the precedeing Whig-ministers, whereof some were his very mistaken Benefactors. But it looks like a sort of fate attending the best Governors-general of *Ireland*, to make Bishops now and then as little for their own credit as for the good of Religion or the Nation, for examples of which we need go no further than the Lords *Capel*, *P--b--ke*, and *G--hway*. All that Doctor *B---n* got by his sacrilegious officiousness, was, that the health is never drunk since but in these words: *To the glorious and immortal Memory of K. WILLIAM, and a * fig for the Bishop of C--k*. In the next place, several worthy Gentlemen of *Westmeath* were sworn into a plot by a doubly perjur'd fryer, one *Dominick Langton*; who, under the cloak of being a Protestant Minister, and supported in this prosecution by *Higgins* the *Irish Sacheverell*, was sav'd from condign punishment by a charitable Bishop, who got him out of the Marshalsea, and under whose protection he fled to the other Conspirators in *England*. You'll be amaz'd when I tell you, what yet is most strictly true, that the Protestants, under frivolous pretences, were begun at length to be disarm'd, contrary to all law and policy. Of this I could, among many others, give you a notorious instance, relating to the right honourable *William Conolly*, Esq; the present Speaker of the house of Commons there; who being no less deservedly popular, for his unshaken adherence to the Protestant Succession, and the good of his Country, than for his untainted probity and great generosity, became a mark for all the spite and malice of the party. But these and a thousand worse things notwithstanding, the Protestants not only bravely stood up for the laws in favour of the house of *Hanover*, even forcing the Government to prosecute those who listed soldiers for the Pretender (a thing at first ridiculous here) but they did withal set an example to *England* it self, by putting a price upon the Pretender's head,

* *There's a various reading here.*

which gallant behaviour produc'd more happy effects than I have time to tell you. Time likewise wou'd fail me, shou'd I go about to give you a minute account of all the steps the house of Commons took for keeping out Popery and the Pretender, the interest of both which, was strenuously propagated by the C——llor, Sir C———*P—s*, under the malignant influence of the *English* Ministry. This man, without minners, learning, or birth, or indeed any other merit but that of being the incendiary *Sacheverell's* Council (if you wou't except the essential one of being a rigid High-church *Jacobite*) this man, I say, took all opportunities of shewing his inveterate rancor against the Succession. No sooner did he appear in that kingdom, but his levee was crouded by Papists and dispensation Converts, whose cloven foot was seen by the venom they us'd to spit against Whigs and Dissenters: for every one who made his court, to *P—s* wou'd previously show his zeal by treating the Whigs as ignominiously, as formerly under *Talbot*; nor wou'd Sir *Con* employ a man of them, no, not in ordinary work. Accordingly he brought those new Converts into all busines, places, and preferments, receiving his most secret informations from Priests and Friars, who were like to do wondrous service to the *English* interest. By the assistance of that trusty bull-beef Priest *Higgins*, he labour'd to divide the Protestants, introducing the distinction of High and Low Church unknown there before; and it must be own'd, that they made some progress in this villanous design, which, with the Earl of *Rochester's* introducing the *Sacramental Test*, considerably weaken'd our present King's interest. But our doughty knight wou'd stick at nothing. He had his *Loyd* there to asperse the Whigs, as his master had their *Roper* here. He stiff'd or discourag'd all informations against the insolent practices of the Papists, whom he was ever backward to disarm, tho' it raitly requir'd to do it after the Queen's death. He granted *Noli prosequi* for writers in behalf of the Pretender, and favour'd all he cou'd, those who treasonably list'd soldiers for him. He arrogated at last a power of nominating Magistrates, caus'd an Anarchy in the city of *Dublin*, overturn'd some

Corporations, as he was taking large strides to serve 'em all in the same modelling manner, when the first of *August* put a period to his reign : just at the time that the Commission was going over to break an Army they cou'd never trust, even purg'd or garbl'd ; and when, out of revenge to the never to be forgotten house of Commons, they were going quite to abolish the use of Parliaments in *Ireland*. The Archbishop of *A——b*, promoted for this very purpose to that See, was his chief abettor. This Prelate, tho not very nice in other matters, and much better acquainted with the Mothers than the Fathers, wou'd not be concern'd in blood, forsooth ; refusing to sign the order for the execution of the list'd or enlists for the Pretender, whom he did not think guilty of Treason : but I shrewdly think a man guilty of treason, for refusing to obey certain orders of the Regents. Before I take leave of Sir *Con*, I must acquaint your Lordship, that the Clergy in Convocation thank'd him for his services' (you see what they were) to the Church ; and as some folks will be meddling, for Churchmen are the most bungling politicians in nature, they address for him, when the Commons address against him. Nor was he receiv'd with inferior marks of endearment by their brethren in *England*: for on the very day of the King's coronation, which was likewise the leading day to the ensuing Rebellion by concerted riots over the whole kingdom, he was solemnly created a Doctor of Laws at *Oxford* ; tho lying under his Majesty's displeasure, as well as under an accusation from the Commons of *Ireland*. But this procedure created no wonder in a place, which, as it appears since, was to be the chief place of arms for the Pretender, and is the only garrison that stands out for him now. This behaviour of Churchmen here and there, notwithstanding the odium and contempt the like brought upon them at the Revolution, occasion'd another health in *Ireland*, which ought to be a lesson to them ; and it is this, *To the prosperity of the Church, in spite of the Clergy*. But as I can never persuade my self that this right venerable Doctor, after the Parliament of *Ireland* has so narrowly enquir'd into his conduct, and so lively represented him in his true colours, can escape the punishment

ment due to his demerits, so I leave him to Justice: not doubting but the King will gladly embrace every opportunity of expressing Royal affection and kindness for his kingdom of *Ireland*, always honouring it with his special protection, and giving it encouragement in every thing, not inconsistent with the safety or welfare of *England*. The more distant Colonies and Plantations of *America*, already feel the benign influences of his Government: and, considering what I told you before of his just notions of Trade, they may expect every thing from him, that can contribute to the enriching of these Kingdoms, and to their own peculiar happiness.



X.

*Of the INTEREST of Great BRITAIN
abroad, of FOREIGN ALLIES, and
NATURALIZING FOREIGNERS.*

HAVING so largely discours'd of our Interest at home, I shall be the shorter, my Lord, upon our Interest abroad; and indeed it requires no long discussion, our Reason of state in this respect being only twofold. Our first maxim is, *To support the Protestant interest every where*; by which we never mean to espouse all the pretensions of Protestant Princes against Popish Princes, which may be often groundless and unjust: but to maintain the liberties, privileges, or immunities, granted in favour of the Reform'd Religion at any time, purely as a Religion; to protect and assist such as may be persecuted, tho otherwise dutiful subjects, on the score of this profession; and to get good terms for them, where they may be oppress'd, or grown numerous enough to form Churches. Herein we make no difference between *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, or any sort of Protestants, all of 'em agree-

agreeing to make the *Scriptures* alone the rule of their faith; and holding no principles; that can render them justly suspected to their Sovereigns; be the Religion of these what it will: and therefore we can with the better grace intercede in their behalf with Popish Princes, yet without fearing that such Princes shou'd hope to obtain the like terms for those of their communion here; since we prohibit Popery chiefly for this very reason, that it is grounded upon and incorporated into a foreign Interest, which makes it not to be tolerated with safety, and which cannot be pretended of Protestants. We have already seen many effects of King *GEORGE*'s tender regard for our suffering brethren, and hope in a short time to see several more such instances, of more extent and more importance. Our other Maxim, with respect to foreign Countries, is, *To keep the balance of Europe equal*: that is, to suffer no State so to gain upon any other, as that we in particular may be losers by it; much less, that the greatest part of *Europe* shou'd fall into one scale, by whose irresistible weight all the rest, and we among them, must be crush'd. In pursuance of this maxim time was, when the common good requir'd us to oppose the house of *Austria*, by siding with the house of *Bourbon*; and the same reason has since call'd upon us, to oppose the house of *Bourbon*, by siding with the house of *Austria*. We are not byas'd in this momentous affair by names, kindred, or affinity, no, nor by Religion it self: since we wou'd as little be tributaries to Relations as to Strangers, and to Protestants as to Papists: wherefore, as in this transitory world the circumstances of things happen to change, so we likewise change our measures, or ought to do it. This province of being the Umpires of Princes, and inclining the Balance to the side we favour, seems to be our peculiar glory, arising from our Situation, Wealth, and Liberty. *Henry* the eighth was so sensible of it, that he took this motto, *Cui adhaereo praest, be prevalet whom I assist*: and we are the more readily call'd to interpose in the differences of foreign Potentates, because we are not desirous of many acquisitions on the continent of *Europe*: notwithstanding our mighty fleets and numerous armies.

armies. Now what a figure does your Lordship imagine, a *British* Prince of King *GEORGE*'s wisdom and equity, is like to make in the world? Yet I beg your Pardon for the question, since we already behold all the world courting his amity. But, besides these general Engagements, we were never without our particular Alliances abroad; wherein the ancient *British* candor and publick faith were thought stronger ties, than all the quirks or clauses devis'd by the subtillest Negotiators. Notwithstanding this fair opinion of us was somewhat fully'd, by the levity of *Charles* the second: yet we cou'd never be charg'd with downright treachery and perfidiousness, till towards the end of the last reign: when by our scandalous behaviour to our good Allies, which I heartily wish might be eternally forgot, the *British* reputation was well nigh lost; and scarce any of us cou'd shew his face abroad, but he must be reckon'd a knave in *Germany* and *Holland*, who were betray'd by us, as well as a fool in *France* and *Spain*, who bubbld us. The Queen's Ministers made so slight a matter of the most solemn Treaties, that they made her on every occasion threaten to renounce all her engagements with the *Dutch*: but King *GEORGE* will absolve the nation, and establish our character. Nay foreigners themselves never involv'd the Whigs, in what was the sole guilt of the Tories. The Whig Ministers before, acted as the Whig Ministers do now: and your Lordship is aware, that the Tories never were, nor ever will be trusted abroad; which, were there no other consideration, shou'd be enough to determine our Princes in favour of the Whigs, from whose credit in the Royal Councils and Parliament, our Confederates ever augurate their happiness. The Tories, from certain bigotted notions of Church-communion, and too narrow views of Government, are bred with such antipathy to foreigners, that they know very little of them. This is the true reason of their sottish contempt of them, and of their utter unacquaintance with foreign affairs, which had like to prove so fatal to all *Europe*. Nothing is more scurrilous than the Epithets they have for other nations, tho sometimes there's a little cunning mixt with this savageness:

ness: for when they abuse the *Germans*, tis to wound the Royal family through their sides; as when they us'd to damn the *Dutch*, they formerly meant King *William*. Among the other indications of this inhuman disposition, was their repealing the so long desir'd *Act of General Naturalization*, which was like to add so much strength and wealth to this kingdom. I need not explain to your Lordship (what you understand so thoroughly, and what has been set in the clearest light by the debates about this very *Act*) that in the multitude of inhabitants consists the riches, and consequently the power of a nation: and I have shewn above, that none of the differences among Protestants, do either obstruct their Industry, or need to disturb the Government. Incontestable examples were laid before those Bigots, of nations that perish'd by keeping out strangers, and of others that flourish'd by admitting them, without any one instance brought by them to the contrary: yet partly out of their ridiculous aversion, partly out of revenge (not forgetting the setting aside of the Succession) they were deaf to all remonstrances, and depriv'd us of that populateing Law, which I despair not of seeing reviv'd. To name no others, I appeal to the whole kingdom in general, whether there be any subjects more peaceable than the *French Refugees*? whether they are not so farr from being a burthen to any, that they maintain their own poor, and yet contribute to ours? whether any be more industrious, and whether the fruits of that Industry do not entirely redound to our benefit? for I suppose no body will doubt that they live in *English* houses, that they eat *English* beef and pudding, that they drink *English* strong beer, that they pay *English* taxes. I appeal in particular to our Merchants, whether any have more improv'd or encourag'd our Manufactures, whether any have come more readily into our publick stocks and funds? I appeal to our Generals, whether any have serv'd with greater fidelity or bravery? I appeal to our Bishops, whether any have given less disturbance to the Church? and lastly I appeal to his Majesty and his Ministers, whether any were more firm to his Interest, or suffer'd more for being so? since, besides the Tory resolution of sacri-

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ficeing or delivering them up to the King of *France*,
 the very arrears payable to some of them, were
 barbarously stopt; tho, by the 7th and 8th of King *Wil-*
liam, 15000 pounds *per annum* be appropriated for the re-
 lief of such of those Confessors, who abandon all rather
 than violate their consciences, and who yet are not a-
 ble to work, or otherwise to get their livelihood.
 Now if the natives of that country, which was al-
 ways reckon'd the natural enemy of *England*, become
 such peaceable, useful, and loyal subjects when natu-
 raliz'd; how much more reason have we to expect
 the same, from nations more resembling us in lan-
 guage and manners, and especially from those of his
 Majesties country, which is the heart of the ancient
Saxony, from whence the *English* originally came?
 Upon this occasion, let me tell you (my Lord) that
 no good *Englishman* forgets, as you seem to reproach
 us, the great and important services which the Count
 de *Bothmer*, and the Baron de *Bernsdorff* have render'd
 to our country (I mean none of those *Englishmen*,
 who esteem the securing of the Succession to be a na-
 tional service) and therefore you need not fear, but by
 a particular Act they'll be created Peers of this king-
 dom; which parliamentary dispensing with the Limi-
 tation concerning Forreigners in their favour, will bet-
 ter distinguish their characters, than if all might be in-
 differently admitted, as very few ever will be. The
 not doing of this wou'd favour of ingratitude and parti-
 ality: nor can it enter into my thoughts, but that a
 way will be found to recompence the merit of the no
 less able than indefatigable Monsieur *Robethon*, who has
 serv'd *England* so long and faithfully, and whose unin-
 terrupted pains in behalf of the Succession, are so emi-
 nently known to some of our Ministers. It wou'd ap-
 pear very strange (as you judiciously observe) that the
 Emperor, who is but indirectly serv'd by the Successi-
 on's taking place, shou'd from a Baron make Monsieur
 de *Bothmer* a Count of the Empire; and that we, who
 daily and directly reap the fruits of those hazards he
 underwent with our bravest Patriots, shou'd grudge

him an *English* Peerage. This wou'd justifie *Horace's* *Britannus hospitibus ferus*. This distinction, so manifestly due to the persons I have mention'd after your self, I am farr from extending to many others; and consequently as farr as any man from laying open that inclosure, which all wise Governments make in favour of the Natives. But all wise Governments have likewise rewarded the services of Strangers, and in *Cicero's* Oration for *Cornelius Balbus*, you'll find that the *Roman* General was empower'd to naturalize a certain number of such forreign associates, as shou'd best deserve of the Republick under him. A Reflection or two, which I intended, my Lord, on the behalf of our old and natural Allies, will better fall under my next head, which shall be,



XI.

Of PEACE and WARR, of TUMULTS, and particularly of the late REBELLION.

IT IS certain that the body politick may, no less than the body natural, languish of an internal and wasting disease, when sometimes the external looks and countenance seem very florid, when every thing promises health and long life. So that even Peace, tho so natural and amiable, is not always preferable to Warr, tho so unnatural and horrible; since the circumstances of affairs may make our honour and safety solely preservable by the latter, when they might be utterly lost by the former. Nay, Trade it self, which looks like a paradox, is often increas'd by Warr, as no body will deny it must be thus defended, when obstructed by the piracy or incroachments of others: in which cases Fleets alone, as some have idly fancy'd, will not be sufficient;

sufficient; tho *Britain*, the Queen of the Ocean, must ever take care to be superior in this respect to any State or Prince whatsoever. None will appear such a mad-man as to dispute, whether, if, in danger of a forreign Invasion, we shou'd not raise an Army in our own defence, or keep it on foot till we have made Peace with our enemy, or conquer'd him. As evident it is, that we must observe the very same steps in case of a Domestick Rebellion; and likewise when either by Treaty, or to preserve the Balance of *Europe*, we make warr abroad. But supposing us not invaded by Strangers, nor disturb'd by Subjects, neither obstructed in our Trade, nor call'd upon by our Allies, we ought nevertheless at all times to maintain such a competent land and sea-force, as will render us considerable to our neighbours (for we desire not to be formidable) and to deprive others of all hopes to surprize us unprepar'd. Let not your Lordship entertain the least thought, as if I were pleading here for a *standing Army*, in the sense our nation understands it: that is, a greater army than our forreign or domestick concerns require, but merely kept on foot to burthen and terrifie the inhabitants. This wou'd be as inconsistent with all I have written to you about our envy'd Liberty, and my own Principles; as, I am thoroughly convinc'd, it is most remote from the King's intentions, or the desires of his Ministers. Tis agreed on all hands, that in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, we must ever keep some forces on foot; and such a method will questionless be found out by the Parliament, as will be sufficient to maintain our reputation abroad, and tranquillity at home, without any diminution of our Liberty. I pretend not to specify the way or number; only that whatever the number be, they need not become a real or pretended burthen in quarters, any more than in *Ireland*; since here, as there, they may be so commodiously dispos'd in Barracks. I have lately seen a fine draught of such Barracks, approv'd by competent judges in these matters, done by Mr. *Du Bois*, one of his Majesties Engineers, and a good Architect. But over and above the six thousand men

we have in the service of the *Dutch*, I am of opinion, that, for a nursery of experienc'd Officers, we shou'd constantly have many more in the pay of other forreign Potentates. We have, it's true, several brave and experienc'd Officers at present: but in how small a time may death or old-age deprive us of them, leaving us as raw, and as much to seek for the art of Warr, as at the Revolution. Without such Methods the genius of a nation dwindles, the nobility grows effeminate, and the common people dispirited.

*Gens ferri patiens, ac leta domare labores,
Paulatim antiquo Patrum desuescit honori.* Sil. Ital.

A false Peace arising from the cowardice of the Prince, the corruption of the Ministers, or the stupidity of the People, is ten thousand times worse, nay, it costs infinitely more, than any Warr grounded upon points of honour or security. Was not the forreign reputation, of which Queen *Elizabeth* left us in possession, basely lost under her successor the *pacifick* King *James I*? by reason of whose pusillanimity, the Princes of *Europe* treated not only his subjects, but himself, as contemptibly as they listed, even in the nicest concerns of his own children: for of his subjects, I believe, he had small care. Was not our honour, in this regard, almost annihilated under *Charles II*? whose luxurious santring deportment at home, was more expensive and dangerous than a forreign Warr. Cou'd he obtain any thing from his dearest Allie for himself or others? whereas, in the light wherein I show you King *GEORGE*, what others may think too much to grant, his Majesty may think too little, and get more. It is sometimes so much the interest of a nation to prefer Warr to Peace, that the profit cannot but answer the honour; when, in such conjunctures, the King has it in his power to sell Warr to his subjects, and to sell Peace to his enemies. Does he not actually sell Peace to his enemies this very moment, at the glorious price of more trade, territory, security, and other advantages to his subjects? Instead of the numberless arguments

ments I cou'd alledge to your Lordship, against the fal-
lacious cant of certain half-fools and half-knaves a-
mong us (by whose perpetual clamour against a for-
reign Warr, you must not be surpriz'd) I shall only re-
mind you of the doctrine *Campanella* deliver'd, when
he was advising *Philip* the second of *Spain*, how to com-
pass the Universal Monarchy. He says*, that tho *Eng-
land* neither affects, nor is cut out for having this Uni-
versal Monarchy, yet that no country can be a greater
hindrance to any who aspires to it. But is a Fleet alone
sufficient in this case? Or was it a Fleet that won the
battle of *Hocksted*, which all the world agrees, was
the decisive stroke against Universal Monarchy? 'Tis a
thing certain and manifest, according to † him and me
too, that if the King of *Spain* (which I wou'd have un-
derstood of some other Kings) cou'd subdue *England*
alone, together with *Holland*, he might soon become
Universal Monarch of *Europe*, and of the greatest part
of *America*. Getting the ships of *Holland* and *Frieze-
land*, says || he, wou'd be the readiest way to break the
maritime force of *England*: and is this a good rea-
son, say I, that we shou'd not make Warr abroad, for
the defence of *Holland*, and particularly of the *Nether-
lands*? for the same author tells ** us, that *Philip* cou'd
most easily master the world, were he once master of
the *Netherlands*. *France* and *Germany*, adds †† he, must
quickly knock under, *England* wou'd unavoidably be
ruin'd, and the *Northern Powers* become incapable of
resistance. The thing is so plain of it self, that I shall
only make an observation with respect to the General
we ought to employ in such a Warr: and it is, that he
must not be a man prejudic'd against our Allies, nor of
doubtful fidelity to the Government; or, if hearty for
the Government, that he must not be suffer'd to be af-
fronted and vilify'd at home, for his eminent services
abroad. We have not wanted instances in each kind:
and therefore we must take care for the future, not to
have a General, who is popular only for courage with-

* Cap. 25. † Ibid. || Ibid. ** Cap. 27. †† Ibid.

out conduct, for profuseness and extravagance, under the false notion of liberality and generosity; while this opinion of him in the minds of a vicious Mob, is kept alive by seditious and licentious Priests. He must not be one of more than suspected disaffection to the *Hanover* Succession, being the avowed Idol of its adversaries; who, like other idolaters, worship stocks and stones: not one who makes false insidious protestations to our Allies, while he is ignominiously discovering their disposition and designs, by a criminal correspondence with the enemy's General, to whom he gives advice how to distress them; leaving their State at his mercy, and seeing their men butcher'd without offering help or comfort: not one that treacherously seizes their fortresses, and the keys of their country; which of course must oblige him to make so despicable a figure, as to be trusted neither by men nor towns, neither visited nor saluted by other Generals: not one, who instead of resenting the property which the Ministry made of him, by getting him to act contrary to his Instructions, and to become the tool of *France* for betraying our Allies; did, for being gently discountenanced for a conduct, which ought to have cost him his head, fly into open rebellion against his Sovereign, which nevertheless he show'd himself as little capable to manage, as his honour or estate. They, my Lord, who use our Generals contumeliously at home, for their gallant actions abroad; are such as from the success of our Allies abroad, are defeated in their designs at home. Is any thing in the world more undeniable, than that the supporting of the Emperor and the States-General in the last Warr, was the surest way to keep out the Pretender? At least it can't be deny'd, that beating and ruining the *French*, was an infallible way not to have him victoriously impos'd upon us. But the *Jacobites*, with the other friends of the Pretender, were to a man against a foreign Warr, calling us sometimes the bullies of *Europe*, and sometimes the culises of it, as being nothing concern'd with either *Holland*, or the *Empire*, in their profound Politicks: Were any words
thought

thought too scurrilous (my Lord) or any practices too flagitious by the same persons, to asperse and blacken his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*? for no other reason (whatever they give out) but his supporting the Emperor and the *Dutch*, for his beating the *French* where-ever they had courage to stay for him, and for his thus effectually keeping the Pretender out of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. I shall not mention any of his noble exploits, so fresh in all men's minds, and such as will ever flourish in history: contenting my self with this one elogium (no less true, than universal and everlasting) that he never besieg'd a town which he did not take, nor fought a battle he did not win. This is more than can be said of the *Hannibals* or the *Scipios*, whose actions were not more numerous: but this is also the reason why he's envy'd and oppos'd, why he's indirectly calumniated by some, and ungratefully revild by others, for where was such merit ever treated otherwise? This is the reason why opposition to him, is made a cover for opposing King *GEORGE*, whom the faction seeks to wound through his sides: and this is the reason, why the Malecontents of all sorts are so ready to charge him with every thing they do not like; whereas King *GEORGE* is known to have no Favourite, and that all the deference he pays to my Lord *Marlborough's* judgment, is owing to his own. After those traytors to God and man, in the last Ministry, had first villanously charg'd him, and then consciously dropt the prosecution, they wou'd at last, to be reveng'd of him, obscure even their native country, which he had rais'd to the highest pitch of Glory: for *Blenheim Castle* (whereof they poorly suspended the building) is not so much his particular house, as a publick Trophy erected over our enemies, a lasting monument of our uninterrupted victories for so many years over the *French*, under his Grace's auspicious conduct. May we not therefore justly suspect, that the stopping of this building by the late Ministry, cost *France* a round sum of money? Tho I am in haste, my Lord, I cannot forbear giving you a like instance, out of many, in ancient story.

story. The Lacedemonians (says * *Vitruvius*) under their General *Pausanias* the Son of *Cleombrotus*, having, in the battle of *PLATEÆ*, with a small handful of men overcome the numberless army of the Persians, celebrated a glorious triumph over their enemies; and likewise, out of the spoils of the field, won by the valour of their citizens to their immortal honour, erected as a Trophy to posterity the *PERSIAN PORTICO*, wherein they plac'd the Statues of the captives in their native barbarous habits, bearing up and supporting the roof, to punish their pride by this deserv'd affront: and to the end, that as well their enemies shou'd dread their valour, by seeing this Adonument of it; as that their own citizens shou'd thereby be animated, and ever prepar'd to defend their country. Wherefore many private persons in imitation of the publick spirit, plac'd Persian Statues in their buildings, bearing up the Entablatures and their ornaments, whence no small variety of decorations accru'd to Architecture it self. Britain is farr from being inferior to Lacedemon, as *Marlborough* is incontestably superior to *Pausanias*: but where was our publick spirit, in carrying on the building of *Blenheim* then? where is the imitation of such a spirit now, in private houses adorn'd with crouching Frenchmen? The erecting of *Blenheim* is doing justice to *Europe*, for the *Place des Victoires*. But, after all I have said to your Lordship, the Duke of *Marlborough*'s capital crime with the Tories, ought

* *Lacones*, *Pausania* *Cleombroti* filio duce, *Plataeo* prælio, paucâ manu infinitum numerum exercitus *Perfarum* cum superavissent, acto cum gloria triumpho, spoliis & prædæ *PORTICUM PERSICAM*, ex manubiis laudis & virtutis civium, indicem victoriæ, posteris pro Trophæo constituerunt; ibique captivorum simulacra, barbarico vestis ornatu, superbiâ meritis contumeliis punitâ, sustinentia sectum collocaverunt: uti & hostes horrescerent, timore eorum torritudinis affecti; & cives, id exemplum virtutis aspicientes, gloriâ erecti, ad defendendam patriam essent parati. Itaque ex eo multi statuas Persicas, sustinentes Epistylia & ornamenta eorum, collocaverunt; & ira, ex eo argumento, varietates egregias auxerunt operibus. *Lib. 1. cap. 1.*

eterq

eternally to endear him to the Whigs: and it is, that he's the man, *who* (as *Cicero* said upon the like occasion of * *Trebonius*) *preferr'd the Liberty of all to the Favour of one; and who chose rather to be the expeller, than the sharer of his Tyranny.* Will any Whigs, after this, join in the no less false than foolish cry of their mortal enemies? But to return from Warr to Peace, who does not see that his Majesty is taking the most effectual measures, for continuing the Peace of his dominions, to the prodigious encrease of their wealth and power? that from a Peace infamous, dangerous, and unsound; he's rendering it honourable, secure, and durable? Yet Peace abroad wou'd signify little without Peace at home: and therefore we may expect an end is now put for ever to all Riots and Tumults here, by the excellent Law which has been enacted to that purpose, and whereof we have already felt the wholesome effects. The Party who were lately for subverting our Laws, because opposite to their views, must have naturally acted in contempt of them; and therefore endeavour'd their destruction, if for no other cause, yet that they might not themselves be call'd to an account for their Treasons. Hence you may easily conclude, why they were Parsons and Prostitutes, the most extravagant among the Gentry, and the most vicious among the Commonalty, that best serv'd their purposes; because disorderly and lawless folks are ever against order and laws, which are a curb upon their exorbitant passions: nor are those Parsons who stickle for the Independency of the Church (for of such only I speak) less averse to the Laws, than the others I have mention'd in their company; as may be seen by their daily behaviour here, and in every place of the world where this Independency obtains. Doctor *Sacheverel* and his Mob set the example, which has been ever since so punctually follow'd; and which was plainly intended shou'd be follow'd, by pardoning of *Damare* and *Purchase* first; as afterwards by the large collections that

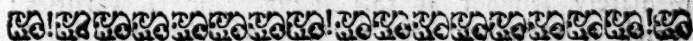
* Qui libertatem Populi Romani unius amicitiz proposuit; depulsorque Dominatus, quam particeps esse maluit

were made for them, as a reward for their Rebellion. I own the due execution of the *Riot Act* has gone a great way towards quelling this monster, so pernicious to society; but this same Law will have a much greater effect, if another be added to it, forbidding the subjects to make any Bonfires or Illuminations except when they have the Magistrates precept for so doing (according to antient usage) and then that all be oblig'd to do it alike: nor that they be permitted to observe any days as Festivals by hanging out of flags, or otherways, but such as are appointed by the publick authority of Parliament or Prince; all countries (besides ours) being as nice in this particular, as in the coining of money, or such other Regalities. Upon this occasion legal provision shou'd be made for observing Queen *ELIZABETH's* birthday, which has been longer kept voluntarily, than that of any Prince in the world: but as many Protestant countries have no less wisely, than piously, set apart an Anniversary for the REFORMATION; so I wou'd have the commemorative day in our country to be her's, who was the real establisher of the REFORMATION among us. How the late Seditions, Tumults, and Riots, ended in a flagrant Rebellion, no body in all *Europe* is ignorant: and it deserves notice, that none were more active to foment or support it, than several Justices of the peace, with a vast number of officers in the Customs, Excise, Docks, and such others (eating his Majesties bread) who had been put into their places for this very purpose by the last Ministry; but now are many of them discarded, as the rest may soon expect it, by the present Ministry? According to the Scheme that was form'd, as I said, by the last Ministry, a parcel of perjur'd Shepherds set their silly Sheep a madding in several parts of this Kingdom by their leud harangues; wickedly insinuating, that the King was going to set up *Presbytery*; whereupon, contrary to Law and Gospel, those pretended zealots for the *Church of England*, fell a pulling down all Meeting houses, except Maf's houses, as a prelude to their Rebellion. But it has since most evidently appear'd, that these men themselves are the most in-

inveterate enemies the Church of England has; disparaging her by their vile hypocrisy, and being far more dangerous than avow'd Papists. Nor must I omit doing the *Presbyterians* the justice to acquaint you, that not only they and all other Protestant Dissenters in *England*, were to a man averse to such abominable practices, and most actively steady for King *GEORGE*; but that, without detracting in the least from any of our Generals in *Scotland*, that country had been in all probability lost, were it not for the distinguish'd loyalty, zeal, and courage, of the National Ministers there, who can never be too much commended. Our Bishops here (my Lord) a very few excepted, came not behind any of his Majesties subjects, in all demonstrations of sincere affection for his cause and person; as well as of unfeign'd zeal for the PROTESTANT RELIGION and the BRITISH CONSTITUTION. It wou'd require a volume, shou'd I descend to particulars. Their Declaration of the 3d of November, 1715, may serve for a specimen of their other hearty endeavours to extinguish that execrable Rebellion, to testify their abhorrence of which they publish it. In this excellent piece, among many other particulars, they vindicate the sound part of the Church from the reflections that might be cast upon them; by reason, say their Lordships, that *some who valu'd themselves, and have been too much valu'd by others, as zealous Church-men, had join'd with Papists in these wicked attempts, which (as they most truly observe) must have ruin'd the Church, had they succeeded.* They show what a vile and detestable thing it was, how odious to God and man, for such as had so often and so lately abjur'd the Pretender, to join with Papists to set him upon the Throne, for the support of the Church of England; which, say those venerable Fathers, is an imposition upon the common sense of Mankind. They left nothing unsaid (my Lord) that might in the Clergy or the People excite a lively sense of their duty in that perillous conjuncture: and yet Father Francis whom I mention'd before, and with whose airs of Italian Prelacy your Lordship us'd to make so merry, flatly refus'd

refus'd to sign this *Declaration*. Another, not quite so Jesuitical, shuff'd it off to a time when it shou'd not be so necessary. As for the Rebellion it self, it requires a just history to put in their due light the wise and vigorous measures taken at that time by his Majesty, the Parliament, the Ministry, and the Council, the admirable disposition that was made of the troops over all the *British* Dominions by the Duke of *Marlborough*, the gallantry and vigilance of the other Generals and Officers in their several stations, the courage and bravery of the Soldiers on every occasion, and the ardent affection of all true Protestants for their Religion and Liberty. The heartiness, unanimity, and valour of the *Irish* Protestants, preserv'd that country free, even from the infection; not a Papist daring to stirr, and few or no Protestants dispos'd to join them, if they had attempted any thing. Tho' the *History of the late Rebellion* (as I said) ought, and, to be sure, will be written; yet in the mean time, that you may not be impos'd upon, by what the favourers of the Rebels have industriously given out, as if they had obtain'd Terms for their lives at *Preston*, tho' several of them have been since executed: I do assure your Lordship that your old friend General *Carpenter*, who from first to last was indefatigable in this important Service, and to whom the Rebels actually surrender'd, wou'd grant them no other terms but AT DISCRETION; promising to secure their persons from the fury of his Soldiers, and reserving them to be objects of the King's justice or mercy, as his Majesty shou'd see cause for such a distinction. This he no less honourably than undeniably made out before the house of Lords (I might say before the whole Nation) sitting in judgment on some of the Rebel Peers. Now, as King *Henry* the eighth, King *Edward* the sixth, and Queen *Elizabeth*, suppress'd the several Rebellions rais'd against them by seditious Priests and their priest-ridden followers, who oppos'd their Title or the Reformation; so was this last unnatural Rebellion suppress'd by the virtue and valour of King *GEORGE*, against whom it was wickedly rais'd on the self same accounts, and by
just

just such sort of persons. But a new way has been found out, of making the Traytors continue their rebellious practices, after they had receiv'd the reward of their Treasons at the Block or the Gallows. *Dying Speeches* were made for them, more artificial, seditious, and poisonous, than any of the Libels ever forg'd before by the party; which yet must be dispers'd by publick authority, or rather by a mistaken custom: for the original of publishing such *Dying Speeches*, was for the amendment of the living, from the repentance and admonitions of the dead; but not that the dead shou'd spread such lyes and seeds of discord, as none of the living durst father. This is another abuse that wants to be rectify'd.



XII.

Of UNIVERSITIES and PULPITS.



A M sorry, my Lord, that from Riots and Rebellions, it shou'd be a natural transition to discourse of Universities and Pulpits: But you'll perceive it to be none of my fault, not an occasion sought but given. No man is a greater admirer of such Nurseries of good Literature, and had I not past a considerable part of my time at the University, even this *Memorial* had not been in every respect such as it is; tho still indifferent enough, and scarce worthy the perusal of one so conversant in pieces of this nature. He must be savage and unpolish'd indeed, an enemy to all Religion and Politicks, who's an enemy to Schools and Universities: tho such as from their love to solid Learning and just Government, wou'd reform or improve those Seminaries of both, are often made to pass for their enemies; but tis ever by those, who pervert the very ends and institution of Universities. *Moses* was skill'd in all the learn-

learning of the *Egyptians*, who had the noblest Schools and Universities in the World. *Athens*, *Rhodes*, *Milan*, were not the onely Universities after them. Such places among the ancients are the subjects of whole Volumes; nor are they less numerous, tho perhaps not more useful, among the moderns. But this not being the point in question, it must be agreed by all considering men, that neither the holy *Scriptures*, the fountains of our sacred Religion (which are written in dead languages) nor the books of the *Greeks* and *Romans* (which contain inexhaustible treasures of knowledge) can be understood without Learning; nor Learning be attain'd without Universities, or publick Schools, call 'em by what names you please. I know you'll immediately wonder at this apology for Universities; which is certainly very needless to one, who has so advantageously distinguish'd himself, as you have done, at *Leyden*, *Helmstadt*, and *Frankfort*. But having promis'd to conceal nothing which might be of service in your Station, I must inform you, that you'll meet with a sort of people here, who either from the want of such Education themselves, which therefore they pretend to undervalue; or from the real offence they have taken at some disorders reigning in our Universities, are grown perfectly out of Conceit with all such places, against which they no less frequently, than sometimes impertinently, declaim: as if the abuse of any thing, shou'd abolish the use of it. Nothing can be of nearer concern to any country than Schools and Universities, Education being of that importance, that Princes and States ought to take this matter (as the wisest have ever done and do) into their own immediate Inspection: for such as is the Education of their Youth, such will be the genius of their Elders, such will be their Posterity, such will be their Government; knowing or ignorant, polite or rude, virtuous or vitious, and so on. A History of the Original power and proceedings of the *CURATORS* of the *Dutch* Universities, will be seasonable very soon. Schools therefore being instituted for the publick Good, must be kept to their Institution by pub-

publick Authority. It wou'd be a strange thing indeed, to have certain places protected, nay maintain'd by the Constitution; and yet that they shou'd be allow'd to teach, or preach, or act in any manner, against this same Constitution. I suppose none will be ridiculous enough to object, that many Colleges being the Foundations of private persons, and others mostly subsisting by private Donations, they are not so much oblig'd to follow the view of the Publick, as of their Founders and Benefactors: as if any Government wou'd suffer a Foundation or Benefaction, any set of Men or system of Learning, to its own detriment; or, that the circumstances of things changing, and what was once well intended, becoming afterwards rather hurtful than beneficial, they wou'd hesitate at reducing or amending, at rescinding or repealing any Statutes, according as the exigencies of Religion or the State might require. The University that thinks otherwise, or that imagines an *Act of Parliament* may not quite change the frame of Universities, augment or lessen the number of their Colleges, regulate their revenues and methods of instruction, must not only think all men as ignorant as they find or make their Scholars; but be likewise shamefully ignorant themselves of what has pass'd on such occasions in all parts of the world, and particularly at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. Pray, how comes it but by such Reformati^ons, that there are not Masses said now at *Cambridge*; and that the lands or money destin'd to such purposes, are since apply'd to much better? Why may not *Oxford*, for example, be reform'd or purg'd by a *ROYAL VISITATION* to morrow, as *Aberdeen* was the other day, or as *Oxford* it self was at the Reformation? Why ought it not to be put upon a better foot in all respects, if upon a due examination it shou'd be found, that a proud, Popish, fierce, and unsociable spirit, a spirit of narrowness, party, censoriousness, and bigotry, has prevail'd there, ever since the Reformation which I have just mention'd? and which, by the way, was introduc'd by the Civil power, in spite of all their efforts to the contrary. If it shou'd be found that almost all publick

Lectures

Lectures are dropt, or, which is the same thing, perform'd so seldom and in so perfunctory a manner, as to come to nothing; tho the salaries and endowments, for supporting of them, be constantly paid: if it shou'd be found that private Lectures are likewise neglected, or Gentlemen put upon improper studies, and all the Scholars indulg'd in ignorance and idleness; little other Discipline being regarded, except as to the wearing of Habits, capping Masters and Fellows, with I know not what fooleries besides: if it shou'd be found that Benefactions are embezzl'd or pocketted, vainly or luxuriously spent: that some of the Heads of houses are lazy and arbitrary, that many of the Fellows are drones and drunkards, and that the Vice-chancellor's Court is extremely dilatory and corrupt: if any, or all these things, upon legal and impartial inquisition, cou'd be prov'd (for I am not their accuser) supposing this, I say, who will say that such an inquiry ought not to be made? or, if discover'd to be thus, that what is amiss shou'd not be rectify'd? I may venture to affirm to your Lordship that they will: and that a proper alteration will be made in those Statutes, which oblige people to go into holy Orders whether qualify'd or unfit, whether dispos'd or averse; which occasions frequent perjury, prophaneness, and libertinism. The other abuses I have mention'd before this last, I am farr from chargeing upon either of the Universities: but this I assure you upon my own knowledge, that a very opposite genius to our Constitution as above-explain'd, and to those Revolution-principles upon which the present Succession is grounded, has in a most eminent manner exerted it self all along at *Oxford* (notwithstanding their taking the Oaths of Supremacy, Allegiance, and Abjuration) as if they thought themselves bound to stand for ever by that famous *Decree*, which has been burnt by the house of Lords, and which is no less contrary to the principles of Civil Government, than to the dictates of Divine Revelation. There it was that Sir C— P— was doctor'd on the King's Coronation-day, as before said; there it was, that, after the King's accession, *Papists, Jacobites,* and

and *Nonjurors*, went to reside in great numbers, as being intended for the principal seat of the Rebellion; there it was that the late Duke of *Ormond* was to act his theatrical Royalty, that long *Owen* and other Rebel Officers were to form and discipline the disaffected Scholars, and to put those arms, which were intercepted, into their hands instead of books; there it was that, after an Act of Parliament had past for the attainder of their Chancellor, they immediately chose his brother, in contempt of the Court and common sense; and there it was that his Majesty and his Royal Family were treated with the most base and virulent indignities, that defiance was bid to the Laws by repeated tumults, and rebellious insults on the sound and loyal members of their body, from which imputations *Cambridge* is not wholly free. But, besides the amends it has made by the late Address, tis in other respects a hundred times less guilty than *Oxford*, where the *Homilies against Rebellion* had need be daily read. Nor can you easily conceive the senseless pride and Don Quixotism of this last place, where nothing is so common in their mouths, than that they can at any time turn the Nation as they please, and that therefore no King dares disoblige 'em: so little are they acquainted with the Nation or the King, and indeed so great strangers are they to the men or the manners of the world; fondly conceiting that all others are govern'd by their Monkish maxims, and expecting the same deference from Lords and Ladies every where, that is paid 'em by Servitors and Milliners at *Oxford*. A sober, prudent, learned, and religious body of men, will ever have great weight, its true; yet not to the overturning of Governments neither, and much less when publick bodies are not conspicuously distinguish'd on these accounts. But were they capable of good advice at *Oxford* (and take it from one whom they may not reckon their friend, but who's no otherwise their enemy than for telling 'em the truth) I wou'd let 'em for once into a secret; which is in few words, that King *GEORGE* will be so farr from depending on the *UNIVERSITIES*, that he'll have the *UNIVERSITIES* to depend

upon him, by which I mean no other than a strictly legal dependance : and that *Oxford* in particular, before they can atone for the little affection they have shown him hitherto, and for their not addressing his Majesty with the rest of the Kingdom, to congratulate the suppression of the late Rebellion, must do something very remarkable to demonstrate their repentance and amendment. Before the most humble submission, they must not expect that any Gentlemen, who value the good opinion of the King, or the interest of the kingdom, will send their children to so obnoxious a place ; and where, instead of gentle Letters, they have been lately taught to show their wit in such miserable Puns as a health to KING, meaning *King James*, *No George* ; a health to KIT, that is, *King James III* ; and a health to JOB, i. e. *James, Ormond, Bolingbroke*. However, my Lord, when Barbarism and Ignorance, Turbulency and Sedition, are banish'd out of that delicious spot, when publick Lectures in all faculties are frequented (as elsewhere) under pain of expulsion, when the fruits of private Lectures are seen in publick exercises, and that instead of the bare Editors of old books, they become the Authors of new ones, then we may hope to see it frequented from all parts of the world, in proportion to its noble revenues and buildings. Pedantry is perhaps a thing, more or less, inseparable from all Universities, I say, from a mixture of old recluses and unexperienced striplings ; as the getting rid of it, is one advantage a man has by coming abroad into the world : but this habitual impertinence, not being dangerous to either Church or State, it does in effect disquiet no body, how much soever it may divert them. Yet it ought not to be indulg'd so farr, as to give good ground for this bitter censure from one, who was himself of the University ; that since the heads and fellows of Colleges are become the only Greeks and Romans, the Greeks and Romans are become servilely addicted, of narrow principles, very Pedants, and prouder of those things they do not understand, than the old Greeks and Romans were of their incomparable performances. Pedants they may be therefore
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in the University, but I see no necessity, why they must necessarily be disloyal or mutinous, superstitious, or popishly affected; for as it is to educate Youth in principles contrary to these and other Vices, no less than to accomplish them in all useful Learning and Knowledge, that the Universities are set apart: so the King, I promise you, will find out effectual means to make them, not only to keep to their business, and to that precisely; but, if they shou'd neglect their duty, or depart from their province, he'll correct and punish them in proportion to their demerits. The way to do this, will not only be by encourageing of the virtuous, and discountenancing of the vitious, which yet must ever be punctually practis'd: but with the proper remedy I shall acquaint you upon your arrival, the constitution of our Universities requiring a longer discussion, than is consistent with this *Memorial*. Nor will his Majesty keep the Pulpits in less better order: for a *Prince that knows not how to rule his Clergy*, says one, *is like a Man that cannot rule his Wife: he'll neither have quiet at home, nor honour abroad*. The truth of this axiom history makes indubitable, and therefore as I said of University-men, so say I of Clergy-men; let them be strictly kept to their own business, and business enough it is for the ablest men in the world, that wou'd conscientiously discharge it. Let the Ministers no more intrude upon the Magistrate's Tribunal, than the Magistrates intrude upon the Minister's Pulpit. They are provinces so very distinct, and the education to qualifie for each is so different, that a Parish Priest makes commonly as awkward a politician, as a Justice of the Peace wou'd prove a sorry preacher; which is a good reason, why the former shou'd never be made Justices, except it be that no others are capable of this Office, in the districts where they live. But what do I talk of Justices? Is it not manifest from the experience of all ages and countries, that the Clergy in the execution of civil Magistracies, have ever made sad work, being the veriest bunglers that ever dabl'd in the politicks? and that the more influence the Clergy have any where in the civil

Power, the worse it is both for Prince and People? those mortify'd Saints becomeing as resty and imperious towards the former, as grinding and oppressive to the latter. Have not their measures been ever found the most precipitant and bloody in Cabinet Councils, as well as the most severe and inexorable in their own Ecclesiastical Councils? Hence it is, that their false steps in Government are in many places grown into a proverb; as the *Pas de Clerc* of the *French*, and the *Governo de Preti* of the *Italians*. No particular instances of here a man and there a man, will signifie any thing against a general observation, which is ever meant of the greatest number, and the natural or common bent: for were it not thus understood, the *Constitution-Club* might excuse all we have said above (for example) of the University of *Oxford*, which yet I am certain will not admit of such an apology. But to be more particular, the experience we have had here at home of the Clergy's practices in *Charles* the first's time (with their dismal effects) as also in *Charles* the second's time, and even after the Revolution; wou'd be sufficient motives to put our King and Parliament, upon proper methods to settle this most necessary and useful order of men upon a better bottom; -if they had never given those fresh provocations of making a tool of the late Queen, with those marks of disaffection to the Succession in the present reign, which I have often hinted to you, as I shall do yet more expressly under the following heads. A great step towards such a wholesome regulation, will be the restoring of the *Statute of Mortmain* to its full force: and really tis matter of admiration, how a *Protestant* Parliament cou'd be induc'd to break in upon this excellent Law, enacted by our *Papish* ancestors. We have already tasted some of the bitter fruits of this our folly; and some of our Clergy are now grown as busie sprites about the beds of dying people, as any that haunt such for their estates in *Italy*. They fright 'em this minute with the necessity of their authoritative absolution, and wheedle 'em the next with the prospect of merit, directly against the Articles of our Church. A
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second step, will be the makeing more effectual the 75th Canon, relating to the *sober Conversation requir'd in Ministers*; and to the *Titles, Testimonials, and Qualifications of Persons who offer themselves for Holy Orders*: for as nothing is more scandalously neglected than a strict examination into the Abilities of candidates for the Ministry; so nothing reflects more upon the Church, than insufficient Pastors, the ignorance of such men being ordinarily accompany'd with licentiousness, which renders whatever they say without any weight. Ordaining of young men without real Titles, or forcing them (as in the Universities) into Orders, does not onely over-stock the Nation with Ministers, who, being unprovided, will be apt to undermine one another, creating divisions in the Church; but likewise, in order to get preferment, they'll sometimes fall into the meanest compliances, and become (as we have very lately seen) the seditious trumpeters of every Party, which they think the likeliest to gratifie their ambition. A third step, will be the obligeing them to more candid dealing about the Succession, and not by Jesuitical arts to corrupt the morals of their auditors, in teaching 'em mental reservations by their own shuffling example. Their late behaviour in *bidding of Prayers* for his Majesty, and evadeing his *Injunctions* to this end, is so admirably painted by HENRY VIII (who was just serv'd by his Priests as King GEORGE) that the following words out of one of his Proclamations, will serve my purpose better than any words of my own. *Of late, says that Monarch, who wou'd not be dally'd with, some ungracious, canker'd, and malicious Persons, have taken boldness & attempt with sundry devilish persuasions to move and seduce our true subjects, useing false lies, and most untrue rumours; and amongst them we understand sundry Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, of this our realm to be chief: which (to bring our people to darkness) of their own perverse mind, not only to blind our Commons, do read so confusedly, hemming and backing the word of God, and such our Injunctions as we have lately set forth, that almost*

most no man can understand the true meaning of the said Injunctions; and also secretly have suborn'd certain spreaders of rumours and false tales in corners, which do interpret and wrest our true meaning, and intention of our said Injunctions, to an untrue sense, &c. The very same jugling we have so lately seen, that I need say no more of this matter. A fourth step will be, instead of their own whimsical notions of Passive-obedience (which they never practise) to preach, when necessary or requir'd, Obedience to the Laws, and to the Supreme Powers in the enacting or executing of them. *Some with more zeal than prudence*, says the present right reverend and very learned Bishop of Oxford, have represented [the principles of obedience to the supreme power:] as the peculiar character, and the distinguishing doctrine of the Church of England*. But whatever is peculiar, whatever distinguishes from the rest of the Christian Church, is the mark of nothing but a Sect and Party: it is uncatholick, and by consequence unchristian; and so he proceeds to shew, that all good Christians (as all other good men) in all ages and countries, have preach'd, inculcated, and prest those Principles, morally and christianly understood. A fifth step, will be prohibiting them to intermeddle in the disposal of Court-preferments, and to be sober at least at Parliamentary Elections, to which I know their right is question'd, tho with me it is indisputable: but this point relateing to meddling in politicks, whereof I spoke before, I pass it over. A sixth step, will be the bringing them not onely to a better opinion of the foreign Protestant Churches, but likewise to a better understanding with the Protestant Dissenters at home. What credit have they ever got at home or abroad, by their stale invectives against Calvin and Geneva, or their fresher declamations (their very intelligible declarations) against Luther and Wittemberg? yet without truly understanding either side, or, what is worse, perverting and misrepresenting them. What a stirr did

* Sermon before the House of Lords, Aug. 4. 1715.

they make not long since, about spreading *Jure Divino* Episcopacy in other *Protestant* Countries, where the Sovereigns were not very forward to give them any *Jure Humano* Lordships? One of the King of *Prussia's* Ministers made very merry with me on this occasion: Yours, said he, wou'd fain be a mother Church to ours, which in time might give a fine claim to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and some of our Ministers, believe me, are sufficiently dispos'd to agree to your proposals, in hopes of obtaining the like grandeur and revenues with your Bishops. But to return to our own Clergy, they may know by experience, that the way to bring over the *Dissenters* at home, is not by revileing their persons, or ridiculing their worship; and much less by exasperating Parliaments and Magistrates against them, by inciting our Kings to persecute their subjects, to depopulate, and consequently to impoverish their dominions. As this, God be thanked, is now out of their power, King *GEORGE* being a true Father to his Country; I'll take the liberty to tell your Lordship a story of the late famous Mynheer *BOREEL* in *Holland*. An Ambassador of his old acquaintance coming from *France*, and visiting him at *Amsterdam*, ask'd him if it was true, that all Religions had the free exercise of their Worship in that city. Mynheer *Boreel* frankly answer'd, that it was their own fault if they had not; the Magistrates never refusing this favour, to any that regularly desire it. Upon this the former intimating, that it wou'd please his curiosity, to see those different ways, which each Sect was persuaded to be the most agreeable to God; and the latter offering to accompany him incognito to as many Churches as he wou'd, they went to several of them: and the stranger perceiving that his host, after explaining to him the principles and ceremonies of each persuasion, never fail'd to add (without excepting any) that such were a people most religious towards God, and most obedient to the State, said to him with some surprize; for God's sake, Mynheer *Boreel*, of what party are you? to which he strait reply'd, Sir, I

am a *Burgomaster* of Amsterdam. I leave the application of this story to our Parsons, when they preach for Toleration in favour of such good subjects, as conscientiously differ from them : nor do I despair of seeing this blessed change, under the benign influence of King *GEORGE*'s administration. The *Diocesans*, we are confident, will heartily second his Majesty's pious endeavours, as Head of the Church, in reforming the inferior Clergy, who then cannot fail of meeting with all the respect due to their character : for the immoderate respect claim'd by many of them, has serv'd onely to make 'em more despicable. Falling cheerfully in with all those steps I have enumerated, and such others as may be propos'd by publick authority (especially a more explicate acknowledgement of the validity of Lay or Civil Deprivation) is the surest way of preserving the Church flourishing, and to secure it from all danger ; as the opposite conduct overthrew both it, and the Monarchy too, in the last Century. Yet to observe it by the way, had the King been contrary to the Archbishop, or the Archbishop contrary to the King, all had been safe. It is neither impossible (my Lord) nor unprecedented, for a Clergy to put people out of conceit even with their Religion, or at least with that form of it which is call'd this or that particular Church. I believe the tyranny, leudness, superstition, and impostures of the *Heathen* Priests, did not more facilitate the way to Christianity, than the same vices, predominant in Christian Priests, did to the Reformation. And as for a National Church, *Cicero*, who, if we may believe certain Apologists for *Heathen* Orthodoxy, was not less tenacious of the *Roman*, than we are of the *English* Establishment ; yet when a then late Minister (the seller, betrayer, and imbroiler of his Country) wou'd fain with his wicked accomplices, justifie all their villanies by the authority of the Priests, or, as we speak, of the Church : *Cicero*, I say, telling those Priests to their faces, that, if they wou'd go about to defend those things by Divine Religion, which were condemn'd by Human Equity,

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what wou'd be the consequence, thus accosts them; if you shou'd do this * *we must look out for other Ceremonies, for other Priests of the immortal Gods, for other Expounders of Religions.* This is in our stile, *we must look out for another Liturgy, for other Bishops, and for other Preachers.* I might appeal to the Dean of *Christ-Church*; whether this be not an accurate translation; but an application, I hope, we shall never need to make.



XIII.

Of NONJURORS and unaccountable STRANGERS.

UT of all dangers to the Church of *England*, much the greatest arises from the For swearers and the Non swearers. The scandal is likewise pritty equal from both, and so very flagrant, that the edge of their bitterest sarcasms against other Communion is now for ever blunted: or if it be said (as most justly it may be said) that the villany, folly, or madness of a few, not allowed by her, ought not to be imputed to the Church of *England*; so I say, and many a one has truly said it before me, that the villany, folly, or madness of a few, at the very time disown'd by all parties, ought not to

* Vobis hodie constituendum est, utrum posthac amentes ac perditos Magistratus, improborum ac sceleratorum Civium praesidio nudare, an etiam Deorum immortalium Religione armare malitis. Nam si ista labe ac flamma Reipublicae, sumum illum pestiferum & funestum Tribunatum, quem Aequitate humana tueri non potest, divina Religione defenderit; *ALII CEREMONIAE NOBIS ERUNT, ALII ANTISTITES DEORUM IMMORTALIUM, ALII INTERPRETES RELIGIONUM INQUIRENDI.* Pro D. S. apud Pontif. Cap. 1.

be laid to the charge of the *Presbyterians* (for example) and much less to the charge of the Nation. Yet this is done in the most virulent terms every thirtieth of *January*, contrary to the express words of an Act of Parliament, to the truth of History, and to Christian Charity. Your Lordship however ought to be inform'd, that they are generally the Forswearing and Nonswearing part of our Clergy, who lie from the pulpit on that day, and wou'd to God it were the onely day: but whenever they object 1641 for the future, they must expect to hear of 1715 for an answer. As to the Forswearers, or those, who, notwithstanding their takeing the Oaths of Supremacy, Allegiance, and Abjuration, continue not onely in their hearts inclin'd to the *Pretender* (as they did to the abdicated King *James* before him) but in their discourses, sermons, and writings, promoted his interest all they cou'd; sometimes directly enough in their cups, as at other times more covertly and indirectly, by propogateing those doctrines which favour'd his cause: as for such Forswearers, I say, tis impossible to contrive an apology for them, any excuse either for the laick or clerical part of them. The very Nonswearers had these last in abhorrence. The traiterous author of the *Clergy's Tears*, acknowledges, that such perjur'd Levites are justly become an object of scorn, a detestable spectacle, and derision, to the best of men. We are the prostitutes, says he (for how shall we deny it?) that have sold our selves to work this great wickedness; insomuch that we are become a proverb of reproach to every part of the world, where they profess Christ. It has been but too justly laid to our charge, that the Parliament it self (which is proverbially suppos'd to be able to do all things) yet cannot make an Oath, which the Clergy will not take. But what does he talk of the places where they profess Christ: as if perjury had not been justly accounted among the most abominable of sins, by all the *Heathen* world? what cou'd be more solemn, than the Oath, the Sacrament (as they spoke) of the old *Romans*? Did the *Greeks*, the *Persians*, or any other *Heathen* Nations, ever associate with a perjur'd person; if now and then,

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for reasons of State, they thought fit to spare his life? or are not the *Mahometans* as religious observers of their Oaths, and as severe punishers of the breach of them? After telling your Lordship, that *Ormond, Marr, Bullingbroke, Foster, Hall, &c.* were of the perjur'd band among the Laity (not to speak of the dead *Paul*, and the living *Welton*, among many others of the Clergy) I shall say no more of this most despicable part of the creation, but that they are to the full as bad Politicians as Christians: since it is impossible that a *Papish* King, tho ever so weak a man, cou'd trust the *Protestant* tools of his claim, or ever rely on the swearing of For swearers. The Nonswearers act a much fairer part, and indeed the For swearers were but their underling spies and tools: yet, on the other hand, the doctrine and practice of these Nonswearers, render them absolutely incapable of being tolerated, or as much as conniv'd at in this kingdom; which is the only kingdom in the world, that ever extended the protection of the Laws, to such as publickly disown'd the authority of the Legislative and Supreme Powers, of such as live in open defiance to it. 'Tis a peculiar *British* absurdity, a blunder, of our own growth, which can by no means receive countenance from the Toleration we grant to other people. Thus I have stated this point to another friend. ' In matters of civil obedience, property, or moral virtue (which are common to all mankind, and without which no private faith or publick communion cou'd subsist) the Magistrate is to restrain what the Laws prohibit, let a man alledge ever so much persuasion or conscience for his proceedings; since rebellion, robbery, murder, and the like, are plainly evil and injurious; be the inward motives of the transgressor what they will: but in points of simple opinion or speculation, nothing can be justly punish'd by the Magistrate, since he's onely to punish where he can be a competent judge; whereas neither by his own discretion, nor by the evidence of others, can he certainly judge of men's sincerity or hypocrisie, of their obstinacy or docility, &c. The Nonjurors owning

another King, is plain rebellion against this King, and such as no knavish distinction can excuse to him. We may therefore, my Lord, look upon it as a thing certainly resolv'd, especially from the experience of this last Rebellion they have rais'd, that none will be permitted to live in his Majesties dominions for the future, as settled inhabitants, who do not take the Oath of Allegiance at least; and, if they be Clergymen, disclaim the Independency of the Church upon the State. In our neighbouring Country of *Holland*, all the publick days of thanksgiving or humiliation, are equally observ'd, by virtue of a Precept (issu'd from the Magistrate) by all the tolerated Churches, as well as by the national Church; and during the late warrs with *France*, the *French Popish* Conventicles in the united Provinces, were as much oblig'd to keep the days aforesaid, and to preach and pray accordingly, expressly mentioning their Sovereigns the *States*, as any others whatsoever. If any prove so obstinate or scrupulous, as upon this occasion to quit their country, they will be doubtless permitted to sell their Estates, a part of which goes but a little way towards paying the Army, which they may occasion to be levy'd or kept on foot, shou'd they upon any pretext be impolitickly tolerated here. For the rest, these Nonjurors are the most egregious visionaries and madmen in the world, as dangerous every whit as the old Fifth-monarchy men, so well known among you as well as us, by their wild project of enthroning King *JESUS*, and dethroning all other Kings. Their Bishops the Nonjurors call spiritual Lords and Princes, to whom all temporal Lords and Princes are subject: they have Pontifical thrones and Courts ever in their mouths, asserting that the Bishops are the Legates and Vicegerents of *Christ*, in his *KINGLY* as well as in his *PRIESTLY* Office. Be not startl'd, these are their own words in print. They maintain all Lay-deprivation of Clergymen to be invalid and null, and that Bishops onely can deprive one another: rare folks these, to think any wise Government will suffer 'em, which is to suffer themselves to be their slaves. In consequence of such doctrines

strines following from their dear Independency, they expressly damn all those who own'd the Bishops made at the Revolution or their Successors, all that join'd in the Revolution, or that approve of it now; which is to say, all that approve of the *Protestant* Succession, as settl'd in King *GEORGE*'s person and family. The Orders conferr'd by such Bishops, and the Ordinances administer'd by them or their Clergy, they hold to be ineffectual as to all spiritual purposes; that the Prayers of the Conforming Clergy are sin, that the prayers for the present Royal Family are immoral and sacrilegious; and that it is less heinous to assist at the Mass, than in our Churches. In short, they are so very liberal of Damnation, so ready to affix it to things ridiculous, trivial, or impossible, that the people think 'em in jest or in a passion, and so lose all the terror of hell-fire. But to show, that there's as much artifice as extravagance in these positions (the Nonjurors being the most dangerous factors for *Papery* that ever were, and abundance of them being actually gone over to *Papery*) they impeach the *Church of England* it self, as wrong from the beginning; in many maxims and Laws relating to the Clergy; affirming that it is now guilty of schism, heresy, and unrighteous devotions, and therefore errs in doctrine, discipline, and worship. They call themselves the *true Nonjuring Church of England*, the *true Catholick Church of England*, which are their own words; as every thing besides I have laid to their charge; and if they don't mean the *Church of Rome* by all this, I am sure their *English Catholick Church* is such, as neither *Jews* nor *Christians*, neither *Heathens* nor *Mahometans*, will ever tolerate, much less protect or encourage. This makes me admire at the impudence or ignorance of some among our Conforming Clergy, who, while they pretend to answer these *Protestant Papists*, use 'em with all imaginable tenderness, bitterly revileing the *Dissenters*, who are nothing concern'd in the quarrel. Do the *Dissenters* unchristian forreign *Protestants*, unchurch the *Church of England*, or require King *GEORGE* to be dethron'd. But I hope our Governours in Church and State, will
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mark such Clergy-men, excludeing them from all preferment or countenance. I have been hitherto convincing you from political reasons, why Nonjurors must not be suffer'd in *England*, no more than they are in other countries, such a practice being inconsistent with all civil Government. As for reasons regarding the merits of the cause, drawn either from spiritual or temporal topicks, from the Constitution of our own Church and State, or from those of others, I referr you to what the present Bishop of *Bangor* has unanswerably written on this Subject. I send you this truly Protestant Bishop's book, entitul'd, *A preservative against the principles and practices of the Nonjurors, both in Church and State*: From what I have said of the Nonjurors (my Lord) you'll naturally inferr, that I wou'd have all Strangers, settl'd among us, to take the Oath of Allegiance, or to be remanded to their own Countries; and that such Strangers, as can give no good account of themselves, be oblig'd to depart the Kingdom, whether they take the Oaths or not. They were not onely the *Papists* from all parts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, that crouded the streets of *London* a little before the Queen's death, to assist in the black work that was then intend'd, and which God Almighty miraculously defeated: there were likewise shoals of forreign *Papists* to be seen every where, especially in Ale-houses, Coffee-houses, and all places of publick resort. Many of these were in the pay of the last Ministry, as the rest were subsist-ed by the *Pope*, the *Pretender* himself, or by others affectionate to his cause. Those were the most forward panegyrist's of the late *Peace*, the most earnest asserters of the *Bill of Commerce*, the loudest declaimers against the *Emperor* and the *Dutch*, and (what was ridiculous enough) the violentest promoters of the *Schism-bill*. They were inexhaustible sources of mobbing, even after the King's accession; and *Davila* remarks, that just before the *holy League* had declar'd at *Paris* against the Succession of *Henry IV*, there was an extraordinary confluence of unaccountable Strangers thither, who prov'd to be the most active and zealous in all the tumults and rebellions

rebellions that ensu'd. But neither these stragglers, nor their foreign abettors, give me half so much uneasiness, as the conspirators at home. *Many* are the latent wounds of the Government, many the pernicious designs of wicked Subjects. We are in no danger from abroad, we have no King, no People or Nation to fear. The evil is within our selves, tis intestine and domestick. To this every one of us severally ought, in his station, to offer a remedy; and this is what all of us jointly, ought to be desirous of healing.* According to my duty therefore, I shall, among the other expedients contain'd in this *Memorial*, strongly insist with my Superiors, upon extirpating this fresh Seminary of Rebellion against his Majesty, against the Church and the Constitution, distinguish'd by the fantastical title of the *English Catholick Church*; and which, if by us not destroy'd, will be sure to destroy us. There is no medium.



XIV.

Of the LIES dispers'd against the ROYAL FAMILY and the GOVERNMENT.

§ The last Ministry, my Lord, carry'd all their Projects with palpable Lying, and that indeed their whole administration was but one continu'd series of falsehoods and impostures: so having thus render'd themselves most expert at the trade, they and their tools, together with their deluded followers, have

* Multa sunt occulta Reipublicæ vulnera, multa nefariorum civium pernicioſa conſilia. Nullum externum periculum eſt, non rex, non gens ulla, non natio pertimeſcenda eſt. Incluſum malum, inteſtinum, ac domeſticum eſt. Huic, pro ſe, unusquiſque noſtrum mederi, atque hoc omnes ſanare velle debemus. *Cic. Agrar. l. c. 9.*

been

been doing nothing else but spreading of Lies (except when they were busy'd in pillageing, demolishing, and murdering) ever since the late Queen's death. I am perfectly ashamed, I confess, to repeat what they have no less groundlessly invented, than impudently reported of the King himself; not to speak of his Royal Family, of his most immediate Ministers and Servants: such poor, such trifling, such senseless stuff, equally void of decency as of probability, and serving no other end but to show the rankness of their canker'd malice. To entertain you therefore with some of their first-rate stories, they gave out that he, who's the healthiest as he's the most temperate man upon earth, was troubl'd with I know not what fits, for they never gave them a name; that he wou'd cause *Hyde-Park* to be sow'd with turneps, which he shou'd hoe himself (as they said he us'd to do at *Hanover*) and that he wou'd dismiss the Beef-eaters: not considering, that tho, as a wise man, he's a Prince of most regular Economy; so no Prince whatsoever loves State and Magnificence more, but yet always in their proper time and place. This day the expences of the Court are beyond measure extravagant, and the next day they are shamefully mean and unbecoming. They said the *Prince of Wales* was at perpetual odds with his Father, than which nothing cou'd be more grossly forg'd, his Royal Highness being as dutiful a son, as he's a most tender and loving husband: that the *Princess* was red-hair'd, which had it been true (as it is most false) wou'd not make us the less in love with Queen *Elizabeth's* glorious Memory; who came as near this very colour, as her Royal Highness does to perfect fair. They wou'd needs have the young Princesses painted, by reason of their delicate complexion; and, without supposing Witchcraft in the matter, they cannot conceive the wondrous docility, the witty and quick repartees of the eldest, who is, without exaggeration, a prodigy. Nay they once gave it out, that her Royal Highness never had any Children, but that she bought them all; which made a witty Lady answer one of those profound Politicians, that she wonder'd why so wise a Woman as the Princess

Princess, shou'd lay out so much of her mony upon Girls. But, what's least to be forgiven, they have represented the Duke of *Cornwall*, Prince *Frederick*, as a mere Natural, and that this is the reason why he was not brought hither with the rest of the Children: whereas this Prince, who equally partakes of the sprightliness of his Father and the beauty of his Mother, is the most hopeful Youth in the world; of a surprizing memory and capacity, never weary of learning, and having learn'd such things already, as is scarce credible for one of his age. It wou'd be an endless task to pick up their numberless ridiculous Lies, concerning the few *Germans* that have attended his Majesty hither; and whom they do not barely hate upon the account of their relation to the present Royal Family, but also out of their natural inbred envy, and their barbarous antipathy against all *Strangers*, which makes those (who have not the means of distinguishing aright) to reckon us still as inhospitable, as the *Britons* were reputed by the old *Romans*. But since the Tories are as good at negative as at affirmative Lies, and that they may disown such rumours and insinuations, with the same front that they spread them; I shall give a specimen once for all of the spirit and principles of the Party, to show what notion ought to be entertain'd of their honour as men, and of their religion as Christians. I do here therefore present your Lordship with a small bundle of such of their Lies as stand upon record, being extracted onely out of one book among their many Libels: a book admir'd and adopted by all the Tories without exception, and which they dispers'd over every corner of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* with unparallel'd industry, as the alarm-bell to the late Rebellion. It is call'd *English Advice to the Freeholders of England*, and was publisht a little before the Election of the present Parliament, to persuade people in the most positive terms, that the Whigs were resolv'd upon an immediate Warr: that our troops were encreas'd by secret and insensible degrees: and that therefore if they chose a Whig Parliament, they wou'd vote six shillings in the pound Land-tax, a Capitation-tax, and a

general Excise. Now there's a Whig Parliament chosen, and a great while sitting, yet none of those things, but quite the contrary, is either thought of or done. 'Tis further allēd'g'd in this book, that a Whig house of Commons will destroy the Church of *England*, tho almost all the Members be of this same Church; and that they will bring in a Bill to abolish Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: that both Houses, in order to complete the ruin of the Church, will introduce a *Comprehension*, without either Common-prayer book or Bishops, the Bishops themselves consenting: that the Whigs well explain away or repeal the Limitations in the Act of Settlement; and that there shall be an equal distribution of places between *Turks*, *Germans*, and *Infidels*. 'Tis affirm'd with as little truth, tho with much more confidence, that the Court intended to demand of the Parliament 200000 pounds *per Annum* for the *Prince of Wales*; whereas they have demanded for the King, his whole numerous Family, and the Civil List, no more than what Queen *ANNE* enjoy'd her self alone: besides, that if the Prince of *DENMARK* had surviv'd her, he was to have a 100000 pounds *per Annum* by Act of Parliament for his own maintenance. But we have not done yet. The author says that the King's two *Turks* are *Germans* in disguise; so penetrating is Tory Eye-sight! that the *Whigs* if chosen, wou'd keep up a standing Army, destroy the landed Interest, that is destroy their own Land and Interest; and (what sounds mighty awkwardly in the mouth of a Tory) that they wou'd take away the Liberty of the Press, of which they have ever been the sole guardians and assertors, when the Tories have been as constantly inveterate enemies to the Liberty of the Press, as to Civil Liberty and Liberty of Conscience. But the charge of stopping the Press seems too favourable in the judgment of our author, who says that the *Whigs*, not content with this, will bring in an Act to prohibit all books on behalf of the Church and Clergy, and to enable others to write against God and Christianity. All this is said with the greatest assurance imaginable; and by this time I know you'll be apt to ask me

me the question, whether the man or men who wrote these things, did believe 'em themselves? To which I readily answer in the negative: but that they securely rely'd on the implicate belief of their Party, the bulk of which is as stupidly ignorant in Politicks, as they are known to be so in Religion. To this last account I must place the author's saying, that the *Lutheran* Religion is entirely different in doctrine and discipline from ours, and that the *Lutherans* have no Bishops; which is visibly false, tho they do not think Episcopacy essential to the being of a Church. But tis villanous incorrigible malice, that made him say his Majesty departed from *Lutheranism*, to qualify himself for the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and that he wou'd consent to the alteration of our Church for a valuable consideration; as having no extraordinary Veneration for it, being an absolute stranger to it all his life. These are the men that will not speak evil of Dignities, and this is the boasted extensive charity of High Church: The author's affirming that the *Princess of Wales* is so rigid a *Calvinist*, as that she cou'd not be prevail'd upon to take the Sacrament according to the institution of the Church of *England*, is owing to the same wicked principle: since she never had the least Scruple about this matter, as none of the foreign *Protestants* have; and that no native of *England* is more assiduous at the publick Service, or more devout at the Sacrament than she. This, as I told you above (my Lord) is a specimen of the lying spirit of the Tories, from but one Pamphlet, which is none of the biggest; and which contains a great many more falsehoods, all as improbable and impossible as these: such as that the Prince and Princess of *Wales* had but 3000 pounds a year, before their coming hither; that the late Duke of *Ormond* was disgrac'd, purely because a good Church-man; which word with the Tories does not denote an attachment to the practice of any religious duties, witness this very example, but to their politick impolitick faction: that Sir T——, H——r and Mr. Br——y refus'd places, by reason of the conditions annex'd to them; whereas tis they, that, not satisfy'd with

good places, wou'd prescribe conditions to the Court ; how consistently with Toryism, let themselves answer : that the Lord Primate of *Ireland* (of whom above) is a man of the greatest abilities and virtues : and that the Duke of *Marlborough* was even yet to be made General for life ; of which wretched untruth they are still so fond, as to endeavour, after their blundering manner, to make the King jealous of him on this score. But his Grace has no reason to be concern'd at this usage from one, who appeals to Sir *John Fenwick's* traitorous Papers, as authentick vouchers against my Lord *Orford*, whose irremissible crime, is his so effectually destroying the *French* naval force at *la Hogue*, that neither *James* the second, nor the pretended *James* the third, cou'd be ever restor'd this way ; nor the *French* themselves appear from that day to this, half so formidable to their enemies. Neither the Duke nor the Earl can think this usage strange, I say, from one who complains of a heavy German burthen, by which he means the King and his Issue : and then seditiously proclaims, that *he's not yet Germaniz'd*, as if the *Germans* dispos'd of every thing here ; when they never meddle nor make (as we say) and that they can do nothing for themselves, so farr are they from being able to do for others, Both King and Parliament have convinc'd the whole world by their proceedings, that all the reports and suggestions aforesaid are not onely most notorious falshoods ; but that there was never the least ground or appearance given for any of them. Yet I dare say the authors of them are not half so much vex'd and enrag'd, as the Wretches they seduc'd are disappointed, that the King, as they were most absurdly made to believe (for what absurdities so gross which Tories and Papists cannot believe?) that the King, I say, on his going to *Hanover* wou'd resign the Crown to his Son. And I am really apt to fancy, that such Priests as *Bret*, *Welton*, and *Sacheverell*, might imagine in good earnest, they cou'd make his Majesty weary of the Throne by their seditious bullying practices ; nor is it improbable but their undutiful, scandalous behaviour, may indeed tire the patience of this best

of men, to let the Laws have their full effect upon such vile miscreants. Dureing the heat of the Rebellion, Levites of this kidney represented all those of the Royal Family as so many Monsters, in the remote corners of the Kingdom, giving out that the King was a blackamore: and one of those poor deluded creatures has own'd to my self with tears in his eyes, that he was perswaded in *Northumberland*, the King had one morning stabb'd with his own hands all the State Prisoners in the *Tower*. The other gross misrepresentations of men and things by the Tories, you have respectively read under the precedeing heads: and the whole cannot fail of making such principles and practices odious to all persons of understanding or virtue, especially to the sincere lovers of publick Liberty: as King *GEORGE* will thereby manifestly perceive, what manner of men the Tories are, how disloyally affected towards his Person, Government, and Royal Family, with what wicked insinuations they wou'd disquiet the minds of his Subjects; and finally he'll perceive, that none of the Whigs ever painted the Tories half as black as they are. The letting Nonjurors live among us (tho they shou'd pay full double Taxes, or two thirds of their estates) the letting our Clergy or Universities teach or preach any doctrines, inconsistent with our Government, will not only prove *thorns and briars in our sides* (as the *Canaanites* were to the *Israelites*, who * *did not utterly drive them out, but put them under tribute*) but they will, as I said before, continue to divide and distract us, which is the high road to ruin. We have now an opportunity equal to the provocation, of extirpating the Popish interest for ever, for with me *English Catholick* and *Roman Catholick* are convertible terms: and if we don't make the right use of this opportunity, the same fate will attend us that did the *Samnites*; who neither making the *Romans* their friends, nor destroying them as enemies, when doing either was in their power, were in the end destroy'd themselves by the *Romans*.

* Judg. 15. 11.



XV.

Of the MINISTRY and COUNCIL, particularly of the LAST MINISTRY.

Come now, my Lord, to our Ministry, the true state and genius of which is that which concerns you most to know, of all the particulars I have mention'd in this *Memorial*. Were I to discourse merely in general of matters to you, I shou'd not need to say any thing of our Ministers, after the knowledge you have of our King; for *Macchiavel* says very truly, that the wisdom of a Prince never takes beginning from the wisdom of his Council, but the wisdom of the Council always from the wisdom of the Prince. Nor has the experience of the Nation or of *Europe* found any defect in this maxim, by the choice his Majesty made of his present Ministry; any more than his Majesty has found cause to repent of such a choice, and therefore he will no less steddily keep, than he has judiciously call'd them into his Service. Nothing is so dangerous to a State as fluctuation of Councils, which ever begets frequent changes in the Ministry, with the whole train of Cabals, and other evils, that naturally follows. But as in his own temper, there is not a more constant man in the world than King *GEORGE*; so of all the Arts of Government, he knows the growing of his Ministers gray in his service, to be chief, which was a saying frequent in the mouth of Queen *ELIZABETH*. To this it is not necessary, I own, that each of them shou'd always continue in the same individual post, a gradual rise and rotation fitting men for different Posts successively. But such removes must create no misunderstanding among themselves. None of them must so presume upon this rule, no more than upon the
King's

King's steddiness, as to bring him, out of any private views of their own, into discredit or distress; for then he will most surely discount and discard them, nor will the having appear'd at any time in his interest avail, if they do not at all times continue in that of the Nation: it will by no means excuse insolence, any more than corruption. He has pitch'd upon his Men accordingly. Every one of them was perfectly well known to him before; not onely by reason of the figure they made in business, but for having been likewise severally Confessors for his cause. The Duke of *Marlborough*, besides a 1000 indignities from an ungrateful, ungenerous race, was forc'd to quit his native Country, which he had so often sav'd, which he had grac'd with so many triumphs. The Earl of *Sunderland*, as famous for unshaken love of Liberty, as for his universal learning, was the first who fell a sacrifice to the malice of those, who were going to destroy their country, and to introduce barbarism and ignorance upon the ruins of Religion and Letters. My Lord *Townshend*, as remarkable for good nature, as for his other good qualities, yet for procuring a right Barrier to the *Dutch*, and an effectual Guarantee to the Succession, was voted an Enemy to his Queen and Country. Mr. *Walpole*, whose extraordinary Eloquence and Ability, but especially his thorough knowledge of the Publick Revenues, were dreaded by those who design'd to divert the Nation's treasure to its ruin, was by them, under pretexs as frivolous as they were false, kept a whole Sessions in the *Tower*. This new way of excluding *Members* they practis'd also towards General *Stanhope*, whom, after falling under the chance of War, they left a Prisoner as long as it suited their conveniences; tho he made that unvaluable acquisition of *Port Mahon* to his Country, and tho he serv'd it with no less gallantry than disinterestness, his hands being acknowledged no less clean by all sides, than his heart is honourable and brave, as his polite Literature and Capacity are unquestionable. If to the profound skill of these Gentlemen in all parts of our Constitution, you add their extensive skill in foreign affairs, three of them having
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been actually Ministers abroad, and Mr. *Methuen* having from a child been bred up in foreign Negotiations; wherein his dexterity and application equal his Integrity: if you consider all this, I say, how was it possible for the King to make a better choice? and, to your no small comfort in your approaching Station, are they not most likely to continue in his service a very long time? You know the King too well to doubt of it. How did Count *Gallas*, how did Baron *Spanheim*, how did poor Count *Briançon*, use to curse our changing of Ministers, which they said kept time with the changes of the weather; embarrassing every body, and disordering our own affairs, as much as their measures? From the want of this knowledge in foreign affairs, I ever boded ruin to the last Ministry, of which not a man understood any thing: so great an antipathy have Tories to foreigners, that they will not as much as study their interests or concerns with relation to *Great Britain*! If to those Ministers I have nam'd above, I shou'd add the *Devonshires*, the *Kingstons*, the *Carliles*, &c. the *Boscawens*, the *Comptons*, the *Hampdens*, &c. with a glorious catalogue of other true Patriots, Commoners as well as Peers (among whom the magnanimous young Duke of *Newcastle* makes a most distinguishing figure, by his Prince-like liberality and indefatigable zeal for his King and Country) you wou'd conclude that I flatter no man, if I shou'd tell you, that no Prince in *Europe* is blest with more loyal, able, vigilant, or honest Ministers than King *GEORGE*; nor any Ministry better seconded by men, as capable to support it, as to succeed in it. Do not effects proclaim aloud the truth of all this? Has not the King, by the advice and assistance of his Ministers, suppress'd a dangerous Rebellion at home, and prevented all insults from abroad? Do not all Princes and States eagerly court his Majesty, some to be protected by him, some to be in alliance with him, others to get him arbiter of their differences, many more to obtain his guarantee; and all his friendship? What obelisks or statues, what triumphal arches are sufficient to transmit these things to posterity? Was Credit ever rais'd to a higher pitch by any Ministry?

Ministry? Is not the supporting of Credit a certain sign of a good Ministry? Were they not these very Ministers that made it flourish before? And were they not the last Ministry that ruin'd it after them? Are they not the present Ministers, directed by his Majesty's superior genius, that are now securing Peace to us on every side, that are honestly extending the same desirable benefit to all *Europe*? Who can enough admire, my Lord, the mystery of the Alliance with *France*, beyond all men's views or hopes? Is this delighting in Warr? But if his Majesties Councils, like those of ancient *Rome*, were not proportionably temper'd by military and civil persons, they had never succeeded so prosperously: nay, the knowledge they had in *France* of some Generals being in our Cabinet, and that those Generals were as expert in the Council as in the Field, has not a little facilitated the Treaty, a Treaty so demonstrably to our advantage, as well as honour. 'Tis plain then, that neither you, nor any other of our friends abroad, need apprehend a sudden change of this Ministry, whatever men of too much or too little art may give out; especially when their Designs are so good, and that their Abilities are as good to execute them. These Designs are accurately express'd in an Address of the Lords last year, *viz.* *To secure what is due to us by Treaties, to ease our Debts, to preserve the publick Credit, to restore our Trade, to extinguish the very hopes of the Pretender, and to recover the Reputation of the Kingdom in foreign Parts,* to which let me add, *to cultivate a better union of all Protestants among themselves, and also in his Majesties service.* So long as the Ministers manifestly pursue these measures, they have nothing to fear from the groundless clamours of their enemies, from their malicious insinuations; nor from the envy or discontent of those in their own party, who may wish themselves or their nearer friends in their places, and who may think their personal merit not recompenc'd by suitable rewards, or who are too impatient in the expectation of them. Neither have they any thing to fear from the King, who's never to be forc'd or frighted to part with any of his Servants, that punctually discharge
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their duty to him and to the publick. I dare assure you, that the old way of combining into Factions, of enrolling into Squadrons and Phalanxes, will never do with him, who won't fail to examine into the bottom of every charge against his Ministers. He's well apprized, that I may use the words of an experienc'd * author, that *this sort of men have several adversaries, enemies, and envious; being expos'd to many dangers, and liable to suffer many injuries, as they are oblig'd to go through great labours, and to undergo vast pains.* But of all the good qualities conspicuous in our present Ministers, give me leave to tell you, my Lord, that the thing I most admire and commend, is their bringing the last Ministry to justice. This is above 10000 other demonstrations of their honesty; and what blessings so good or great, does it not promise us for the future? It has been a common practice among the Ministers of our Court (as it were by a sort of prescription) to screen their Predecessors from justice, lest they shou'd stand in need of the same indulgence and protection from their Successors. The language of the people us'd to be, that the old rogues were spar'd, in order to encourage a new Sett. But now both King and Ministers are absolv'd from as much as a suspicion of this kind: and indeed how cou'd they make any reparation to themselves, to the Nation, or to our Allies, without making examples of those who betray'd and abus'd them all, who excluded the *Hanover* Family to the utmost of their power? What we were contriving, securing, regaining, and fighting for, during three and twenty years, Religion, Liberty, the Succession, *Spain* and the *Indies*, a great part of the Empire, the Barrier, our Trade, our Navigation, the Balance of *Europe*, and what not besides, these, these gave up at once: and therefore you need not fear, that, as at the Revolution, we shall be guilty of the like false step,

* Huic hominum generi fateor multos adversarios, inimicos, invidos esse, multa proponi pericula, multas inferri injurias, magnos esse experiundos & subeundos labores.
Cic.

to pardon once more the mortal enemies of their Country. They have voted themselves innocent, its true: but tis just as they made the Parliament vote thanks for what they were not told, and what, after it was told, prov'd false in every particular. Nor was there any thing so dishonourable in that dismal conjuncture, so grievous to the Soul of every true *Briton*, than to see them make their Sovereign scandalously contradict all her former Speeches from the throne, and every one of her latter Speeches flatly contradicting that which immediately preceded it. Lord! from what a pinnacle of glory did they precipitate her! to what an abyss of disrepute! Her allies, that us'd to come little short of adoration in the respect they paid her, now standing at a distance, next upon their guard, and lastly quite estrang'd from her love and confidence: for her wicked Ministers oblig'd her to break all Promises abroad as well as at home, the Emperor was betray'd and abandon'd, the *Dutch* bully'd, the Duke of *Lorrain* forc'd to harbour the *Pretender*, the *Turk* encourag'd to come into Christendom, the King of *Sweden* cajol'd yet not assist'd, the *Catalans*, the unhappy *Catalans* barbarously sacrific'd; and, you'll readily own, I am confident, that had they been guilty of no other treason or treachery, they richly deserve to suffer for the *Catalans*, blood for blood. Yet so tender of blood wou'd these pious High Churchmen seem upon other occasions, that one of 'em said in Parliament, it was against the principles of a Christian to offer a reward for the *Pretender's* head, in case of his landing or attempting to land in these Kingdoms: so open and shameless were they grown, notwithstanding their repeated Oaths to the contrary. But nothing of this cou'd seem strange, after their contemptuous usage of the Elector of *Hanover's* prophetick Memorial. I forbear particulars, onely that their way of treating it was such, as if every one of them shou'd say, *We will not have this man to reign over us*. Nor did they ever spare him in their unprecedented Libels against our Allies, in their parliamentary Libels; for what other name cou'd their eleven questions, for example, deserve? and what other name

can you give to their calling his Troops deserters? Well: a Peace they made at last, a clandestine and separate Peace, notwithstanding their knavish antedating, and a hundred other little tricks; which all men of sense suspected then, and which afterwards our *Secret Committee* made self-evident to all the world. This perfidious and disadvantageous Peace they were forc'd to beg too, begging, I say, upon their knees for a Cessation of arms by land and sea; instead of imposing conditions for our selves and allies, conditions beneficial, honourable, glorious, which the preceding, that is, the present Ministry, had obtain'd, and which these vile supplanters enviously, foolishly, mercenarily frustrated. It quickly appear'd what wretched work they made, how grossly impos'd upon they were themselves, how much entangl'd and confounded were all our affairs become, and how miserably the poor Queen was deluded: so fame-fallen, so inextricably plung'd, that the bare prospect of the impending ruin they had caus'd, struck her dead. It signifies nothing to talk of another distemper, they directly broke her heart. They were not so stupid however, as not to apprehend, what they merited from the King, the Nation, and the Allies for all their crimes; and therefore, despairing of security from any thing short of confusion, they fomented and brought about the late Rebellion, which has so far answer'd their expectation, as to divert a prosecution hitherto. But now that we are to expect a *Second Report*, wherein the rest of them not yet impeach'd, are to be duely charg'd, and that the Parliament is at leisure to go on with them all, it is not improbable but the very Tories will eagerly pursue 'em; since the appearing of those men, ignorantly perhaps supported by them, in the interests of *France*, has gone farther than all their passive and hereditary chimeras, to discredit them with the King and Kingdom. The *Pretender* himself, had he succeeded, ought to have hang'd them on this score. I know not how far our Laws may affect the lives of any of them, except in the way of *ATTAINDER*, which is as lawful and necessary a part of our Constitution, as the ordinary Courts: but

but certainly none of them ought to enjoy those Honours and Estates, which they have purchas'd by treachery and corruption. I think this will be easily granted. Not that I am against any body's making his fortune, which is an apology made by some of their friends: but, for God's sake, let men reconcile their fortune with their duty, and let no man make his fortune at the expence of his Country. This the *Heathens* abhor'd, and yet some of these pretend to admire *Heathen* authors. It was a usual saying with one of 'em, that the Lord Treasurer was a fool, who cou'd not at any time make the two Houses of Parliament his own; the one by bribery, and the other by creation. This, I confess, has made me almost out of love ever since with a sole Lord Treasurer; seeing the province also is grown too great for any one man, by the prodigious encrease of our Funds and other branches of the Revenues, since Queen *Elizabeth's* time: but especially when I consider, that in the last reign I often fancy'd my self at *Tonquin* in the *East-Indies*, where they have two Kings, the one call'd *BUA*, who is hereditary, but nominal, never meddling with any thing; and the other his first Minister, call'd *CIVA*, who's real King, and does every thing. You'll see nothing of this (my Lord) under King *GEORGE*, who has appointed a Commission every way equal to his Treasury, and who will himself, as I told you before, be their chief Supervisor and Manager. You'll own he has an able Deputy. But I wish with all my heart to see another Reformation introduc'd among us; which is, that there shou'd neither be an accumulation of business in the same Office, nor an accumulation of offices in the same Person. Several places that are enjoy'd by one, might reasonably employ half a dozen, and sometimes half a dozen places are enjoy'd by one man: whereas a more equal distribution wou'd oblige more people, make more fit for business, support more families, and create the King more friends. Where the Law is deficient the Parliament shou'd interpose; the business and the profit of the *Auditors of the Impress* alone, being sufficient for any reasonable half-dozen,
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since I mention'd this number. But to return to the Ministry, no such tools, in short, are employ'd immediately under the King, nor by them whom he employs, as you have lately heard of: no cunning man that cou- founded all *Europe* to get a place, that sold *Madrid* to King *Philip*, nay, *Paris* to King *Lewis*: no bully abroad to affront our Allies, to deny the Emperor's title in his cups, and to be perpetually quarrelling with the *Dutch*: no such Church-defenders, as the women reckon Saints for their debauchery, and the men deem Heroes for their profusion: no such Envoys, or *Irish* Chancellors, or Agents, as Grocers, Tapsters, and Footmen: no *Lawless* and *Magilligan* in our Court, while Count *Gallas*, and Baron *Schultz* are forbid it: no paying of 4000 pounds annual tribute to a part of his own Subjects, the *Highlanders*, by a King that can give Law to all *Europe*: nor any such division among our Ministers, as the old Duke of *Leeds* said of the last, that no two of them cou'd trust one another.



The CONCLUSION.

UT I am weary of these tools, and afraid I have weary'd you likewise: wherefore since we were just now upon their discord, I hope to congratulate with you, for the harmony you'll find reigning among our present Ministers; as I hope the same Spirit will continue among all the other Whigs, and that they will not be foolishly drawn into any artificial cry, under the notion of a Country party, or other the like threadbare topick. They cannot but remember that the Tories cou'd never enter, but by the gaps they made for them in their own body. The King is convinc'd that Whigs and Tories are incompatible in the Ministry; that drawing two ways, is making no way at all; that they will be perpetually undermining one ano-

another, and that each will be a clog or dead weight upon the other's measures. A sort of neutral Gentlemen are much commended by some, but tis by such as know no more of politicks than what's ideal : for those Neuters are real Indifferents, and a Trimmer (which is the name they affect) is like a bird of prey, hovering over two Armies, being ready to feed on the dead of either side. The whole race of Sir William Coventry's Trimmers is long ago extinct, if ever they had a being out of his brain; since we all now follow *Solon's law*, which made it capital not to be of some Party. Besides the King is most averse in his generous soul to that foolishly politick and ever-deceiving maxim, of *neglecting friends to gain enemies*; upon the precarious supposition that friends will continue friends still, while enemies are perhaps farr from being gain'd. If besides the candid and wise disposition of his Majesty, you add to the knowledge and application of our Ministry, their integrity and legal punctualness in disposing of the publick mony, for which I need no stronger Voucher than that they were never call'd to an account by their mortal enemies, tho voted guilty of embezelment and plunder : if you weigh all this, I repeat it, and the un-exempl'd mild use, which the King has made of the extraordinary power that was more than once put into his hands, which shows his resolution of ever making the Law his rule; you'll not delay a moment setting forward on your journey, to the truly fortunate Islands. Upon your arrival, you'll find that I have given you right information in every matter, and particularly that I have reason to apply literally to King GEORGE, what *Cicero* conceiv'd of a Prince in Idea. As a * *Pilot* proposes to himself a prosperous voyage, a *Physician* health, and a *General* victory; so the ultimate design of the DIRECTOR OF OUR GOVERNMENT, is the happy life of the Subjects: that they may be powerful in Forces, abounding in Riches, reigning in the hearts of all

* You may see the Original of this passage in the Title-page.

by their Glory, and every where trusted for their Honour and Virtue; for of this work, the greatest and the best among men, I will have him only to be the ACCOMPLISHER. O glorious prospect! I heartily wish you a happy New year, and am, with the greatest respect and sincerity,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful,
devoted, and obedient Servant,

London, Jan. 1.
1716-17.

PATRICOLA.

7 JU 66

FINIS.

